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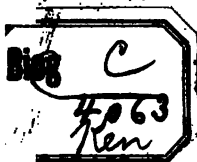
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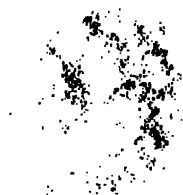
1660-1670

Tho. Ken



THE LIFE

E. N.



**General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union
and Church Book Society**

762 BROADWAY.

1859.



Tho. Ken,

6

THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS KEN,

BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.

BY
GEORGE L. DUYCKINCK.



NEW YORK:

General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union
and Church Book Society

762 BROADWAY.

1859.

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CHURCH OF THE TRANSFIGURATION,

NEW YORK.

TO
MR. JOHN F. SOUTH,
ONE OF THE SURGEONS TO ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL,
LONDON,
THIS BIOGRAPHY
IS RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED.



P R E F A C E.

HISTORY, like the world, has, for the most part, had sympathy only with success. The men who have stormed the citadel, and planted the flag on the topmost height, have received all the plaudits on their return home from the wars. Little but a few decorous tears has been given to their fellow-soldiers who fell in the thickest of the fight, whose bodies, living, perhaps, shielded the victors from danger, and, dead, served as stepping-stones to their fame. Bishop Ken's position in the Revolution of 1688 is somewhat akin to these fallen leaders. The first, when time for action came, to protest; the foremost of the little band in whose hands, perhaps, lay the future liberties of the state, so far was he from any thought of profit from success, that for a scruple which we cannot but respect, though we may deem it mistaken, he deprived himself of even his former state, departing from his episcopal palace as calmly as he had entered a prison.

If Dr. Ken had not been firm, the remaining Bishops might have faltered. Had they yielded, William would not have been invited over, and the Revolution of 1688 might not have occurred. This great example of success-

ful legal resistance, it is well known, was one of the precedents for our fathers in 1776. We claim a reverence for Bishop Ken, therefore, as one who did good service in preparing the deep-laid foundation of our American liberties.

The materials for the present volume have been almost entirely derived from the early biography of Bishop Ken by his great-nephew, William Hawkins; the collection of the Prose Works of Bishop Ken, by James Thomas Round, B.D., London, 1854; and the elaborate and excellent "Life of Bishop Ken, by a Layman," published in London a few years since, and understood to be the production of a gentleman named Anderdon. We are indebted to this work for our illustrations of the Bishop's seal and tomb.

We have also to thank the Librarian of the General Theological Seminary for the use of the very rare collection of Bishop Ken's poems. Our portrait has been taken from the plate engraved by G. Vertue, prefixed to the first volume.

NEW YORK, May 24, 1859.



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THE LIFE OF
THOMAS KEN.

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CHAPTER I.

BISHOP KEN'S HYMNS—HIS FATHER AND MOTHER—JOHN  
CHALKHILL—ANNE WALTON—A BEQUEST AND ITS PAY-  
MENT—WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM—WINCHESTER SCHOOL  
—FRANCIS TURNER—DR. JOHN HARRIS—THO. KEN  
1656—HART HALL.

THE Morning and Evening Hymns of  
Bishop Ken are perhaps the best known  
and most widely cherished compositions of  
their class in the language.\* For two cen-  
turies, mothers have taught them to their  
children, and they have thus passed by that  
happiest process of oral tradition, from gen-  
eration to generation. It is surely a pious  
work to present the career of one to whom

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\* Hymns 164 and 168.

the Church is indebted for such a boon, to as wide-spread an audience as we can secure.

The good Bishop has other claims to our regard, greater, perhaps, than those of authorship. He was a true patriot. Few men have, by a single resolute act, been privileged to give so powerful an impetus to the onward course of liberty. Still fewer have, of their own free choice, for conscience' sake, so calmly abandoned wealth and high rank for poverty and lowly obscurity.

Thomas Ken was born at Little Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, in July, 1637. He was the youngest son of Thomas Ken, an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas, and a member of an old family, the former possessors of Ken Court or Place, near Yatton, in Somersetshire. The county records of the time of King Edward I. present the name of Richard de Ken as one of its chief landholders. Ken Place passed by marriage into the possession of Lord Poulett.

The future Bishop's mother, his father's second wife, was the daughter of John Chalkhill, the author of a pleasing pastoral, entitled "Thealma and Clearchus," and a couple of delightful songs, which have ob-

tained a wide popularity in the pages of Izaak Walton's "Complete Angler." Nothing is recorded of the poet beyond this genial sentence of his friend and probable contemporary: "He was in his time a man generally known, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behavior, a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent; and indeed his whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous."

We may infer that these good qualities descended to the daughter, as these pages are to bear ample evidence of their transmission to her son. We are, however, without any direct evidence of this or any other fact relating to the lady, except that of her death, in her son's fourth year.

The little boy's heavy loss was in a measure supplied by the careful kindness of his sister Anne, the offspring of his father's first marriage, then thirty years old. The good influences thus brought to bear upon the bereaved child were increased five years later, when Anne had the happy fortune to become the wife of Mr. Izaak Walton. We have ample evidence that the good sister was also the good wife, for her husband "has

risen up and called her blessed, and praised her,"\* in this earnest and beautiful testimony. She was "a woman of remarkable prudence, and of the primitive piety; her great and general knowledge was adorned with true humility, and blest with much Christian meekness."

This alliance was soon to possess a still greater importance to young Ken. On the 12th of April, 1651, we find Thomas Ken, the father, devoutly penning these words in his last will and testament: "First, and principally, I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it me, and my body I commit to the earth, from whence it came, to be buried in such decent manner as shall seem best to my executors." The solemn sentence was probably written in his extreme illness; for but a few days after the bequest was paid, and the executors performed their solemn duty.

The little orphan had been vouchsafed but a brief enjoyment of a mother's love and a father's care. The good seed, early sown, had, however, fallen into good ground. In

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\* Recorded as the last and crowning glory of the "virtuous woman." Proverbs xxxi.

his old age, the Bishop, in a thankful retrospect of the blessings of his life, has not forgotten to mention those of his early years.

“E'er since I hung upon my mother's breast,  
Thy love, my God, has me sustained and bless'd;  
My virtuous parents, tender of their child;  
My education pious, careful, mild.”

We have no record of Thomas Ken's education until his fourteenth year, when he became an inmate of Winchester School, a noble institution of learning, founded by William of Wykeham in 1373.

The name of William of Wykeham stands in the foremost rank among the benefactors of learning of all ages. He was born of humble parentage, in 1324. He owed the foundation of rank and fortune to his skill in architecture. It was an age of great activity in this department of intellectual effort. Appointed architect to Edward the Third, he was made surveyor of the works at Windsor Castle. His remarkable skill and forethought in his difficult profession so won the respect and attachment of the King, that he speedily became the “ruler over many things.” In 1367 he was elected Bishop of Winchester. The endowment of



his school followed, as we have seen, not long after. This, however, formed but a part of his great design. The solid walls of New College, in Oxford, soon after rose to receive the youths perfected in rudimentary education at the school, and carry them on to the full completion of a university course.

Wykeham's benevolence was not confined even within the broad limits of these great foundations. He restored, with wonderful skill, the noble cathedral of his diocese, and added largely to the endowment of the Hospital of St. Cross, in its immediate neighborhood. Other acts of benevolence were constantly interwoven with these. Being dead, he yet spoke in the like kindly accents; for his will being opened, was found to contain no less than two hundred and thirty separate bequests—mementoes of devotion, charity, and affection—amounting in all to about seven thousand pounds.

Winchester School is described by Izaak Walton, in his "Life of Sir Henry Wotton," as "a place of strict discipline and order." This was in accordance with the will of the founder, his directions extending to the minutest particulars respecting the prayers,

studies, diet, and diversions of the pupils. They rose from beds of straw before six in the winter, and were required to take the entire charge of their sleeping apartments—a servile office, from which they appear to have been relieved, about fifty years after Ken's school-boy days, by the exertions of his friend Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester. The apportionment and occupation of the day were regulated with great minuteness by the rigid rules of the founder. In accordance with monastic custom, the students were to listen to the reading, by one of their number, of the Bible, or some book of devotion; and, at the conclusion of the repast, to leave the hall in silence, except on festival days in winter, when they were allowed to remain, to amuse themselves by the fire with song, reading, or games, of a decorous character.

A good, vigorous training was, however, secured for soul, mind, and body. The noble school buildings, chapel, hall, quadrangle, masters' houses, kitchen—all fine specimens of Gothic architecture—still remain in pristine strength and beauty, and still fulfil the noble purposes of their endowment.

Ken passed five years at Winchester, mak-

ing, as his future career will assure us, good use of his educational advantages. He formed, during this period, an intimacy with a schoolfellow, Francis Turner. Companions on the class-bench, they continued companions through life, rising with equal step until they finally sat together on the bench of Bishops.

It is not improbable that Ken owed his after fame as an eloquent divine to the instructions of the warden or head master of Winchester, Dr. John Harris, who was "so noted a preacher," Sir Henry Saville informs us, as to be second only to St. John Chrysostom. As Saville was himself called "the magazine of all learning," we may accept the testimony as authoritative. We have, however, no record of his school-boy days beyond the rude inscription, "THO. KEN, 1656," cut by his own hand in the buttress at the southeast corner of the cloisters. It is still pointed out to visitors as an object of interest by the guardians of the place.

Ken passed his examination for admission to New College on the 5th of September, 1656. There being no vacancy at New College, he was entered as a student at Hart Hall.

## CHAPTER II.

OXFORD DURING THE CIVIL WAR—CHARLES I.—DR. JOHN OWEN—THE ROSE AT NEW COLLEGE—THOMAS THYNNE AND GEORGE HOOPER—CHURCH SERVICE—HEARNE AND WOOD'S ACCOUNTS OF MR. KEN—CHURCH MUSIC—ANTHONY À WOOD'S CONCERTS—THE RESTORATION—JOY AT OXFORD—STUDIES INTERRUPTED AND RESUMED—MR. KEN A TUTOR—DEATH OF MRS. WALTON—MR. KEN ORDAINED DEACON.

OXFORD, at the time of Ken's entrance, was slowly recovering from the confusion caused by the late Civil War. The city had from the outset of the struggle sided with the King, who was for some time a resident within its walls. The decisive battle of Naseby, and the rapid approach of the victorious army, forced him to flight. The place was soon in the hands of the dominant party. The college officials were removed to make way for those in favor with the new rulers. The beautiful stained glass and carved work of the chapels were in many instances destroyed. The public use of the Book of Common Prayer

was forbidden. Old college customs, venerable from antiquity, and by no fair construction offensive to Protestants, were abolished.

Fortunately, however, less evil came from these changes than might have been anticipated. Dr. John Owen, the new Vice-Chancellor, was the leading divine of the Puritan party. He was a man of learning and ability, and although a decided partisan, did something for the restoration of order.

After a year passed at Hart Hall, Ken was received as a Fellow of New College. He shared the room of his friend Turner in the quadrangle, known by the pleasant name of the Rose. Other rooms adjoining were named the Baptist's Head, the Vine, the Conduit, the Crane's Dart, the Vale, the Star. This custom of naming rooms was then common in all large establishments, whether public or private. It still holds its ground in a few old inns.

Ken, soon after his installation, became acquainted with two students of Christ Church College—Mr. Thomas Thynne, afterwards created Viscount Weymouth, and Mr. George Hooper. We shall meet with both frequently, for they continued firm friends through life.

It is probable that he also enjoyed the society of the Hon. Robert Boyle, and a number of other eminent men of mature age, who had retired to Oxford in order to escape, as far as possible, the distracting influence of an age of sudden and violent change. It was the practice of several of these to assemble at the house of Thomas Willis, near Merton College, where they "performed their devotions according to the Book of Common Prayer, none being admitted but their confidants. There they maintained the orders and rubric of the Church of England on all Lord's days, Holy Days, and their Vigils, and administered the Holy Communion."

This proceeding was contrary to law, the use of the Liturgy having been rigidly prohibited; but by the wise forbearance of Dr. Owen these resolute and earnest Churchmen, sometimes assembling to the number of three hundred, were not molested. These services were regularly continued until the Restoration.

We have no record of the fact, but it is probable that Ken was a member of this congregation. He had already attracted the attention of good men by the unostentatious

display of the qualities which adorned his whole future life. We learn from Thomas Hearne, the celebrated antiquarian, that "he was even then, when young, very pious and charitable," and from the college chronicler, Anthony à Wood, that "his towardliness towards good letters and virtue was observed by the Seniors."

Like George Herbert, he loved music. He had frequent and excellent opportunities for the gratification of his taste at Oxford. The proscription of Church music was prominent among the many grim absurdities of the time. Organs which had for years breathed forth God's praises had been destroyed by Puritan mobs or silenced by Puritan preachers. The organists, deprived of their vocation, had from a similarity of taste followed the eminent scholars of whom we have spoken to the haven of refuge, Oxford. Musical parties were frequently held in college rooms and private houses, chiefly under the direction of Anthony à Wood, who enjoyed them so heartily that he says of himself, "if he had missed the weekly meetings in the house of Will Ellis, he could not well enjoy himself all the week after." In his enumeration of the per-

formers at these concerts he tells us that "Thomas Ken, of New College, a Junior, would be sometimes among them and sing his part."

While Ken quietly pursued his diligent student course, important changes took place in England. The great Lord Protector died on the 3d of September, 1658. His son Richard soon resigned the power he was incompetent to hold. The Puritans, by their violence and bigotry, had destroyed the liberty they professed to cherish. Few advocated a republic. The nation, weary of contending factions in politics and religion, acquiesced in the lead of the skilful politician Monk, and Charles II. was declared King of England.

The Stuarts were identified with the Church of England, although Charles II., in an abortive invasion in 1650, had turned Presbyterian and signed the Covenant, as he would have signed anything to advance his cause. Their restoration involved also that of the Established Church. The returning family were therefore cordially welcomed back by Churchmen. The great mass of the nation evidently sympathized with their



views. Bonfires blazed, and hats and voices rose in joyful greeting at every stage of the royal progress. The news welcomed in every part of the country was particularly acceptable in Oxford, so that we are not surprised to hear that it did "exceed any place of its bigness" in its jollity. An order, passed soon after in Parliament, reinstating in their former positions all the officers of the University who had been expelled on party grounds, heightened still more the general joy. The scholars, in the words of a lively contemporary tract, Stephen Penton's "Guardians' Instruction," "were not only like them that dream, but like them who are out of their wits, mad, stark, staring mad. To study was fanaticism, to be moderate was downright rebellion; and thus it continued for a twelvemonth; and thus it would have continued till this time (1688), if it had not pleased God to raise up some Vice-Chancellors, who stemmed the torrent which carried so much filth with it." The authorities gradually sobered down these wild spirits. "In defiance of the loyal zeal of the learned, the drunken zeal of dunces, and the great amazement of young gentlemen, who really knew not what they would have, but

yet made the greatest noise, they reduced the University to that temperament, that a man might study and not be thought a dullard, might be sober, and yet a conformist, a scholar, and yet a Church of England man; and from that time the University became sober, modest, and studious as perhaps any in Europe."\*

Mr. Ken received his degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 3d of May, 1661. It appears from the treasurer's books of the same year that he was also employed in instruction, as he was paid twenty-five shillings a term for three terms, as Lecturer in Logic; the same sum for one term, as Mathematical Tutor; and ten shillings a term for two terms as Junior Moderator in Logic. He combined with these pursuits, after the completion of his academic course, the final preparations for his chosen career as a minister of the Church. The quiet course of his studies was painfully interrupted in the following year by the death of his sister Anne. She was buried in Worcester Cathedral, where her resting-place is pointed out by an inscription of touching

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\* Quoted in "The Life of Ken, by a Layman," p. 50.

simplicity, evidently from the pen of her husband.

EX TERRIS.

M. S.

Here lyeth buried so much as  
could dye of ANNE, the wife of

IZAAB WALTON

who was

a woman of remarkable prudence,  
and of the primitive piety ; her great  
and general knowledge being adorned  
with such true humility, and blest  
with so much Christian meekness, as  
made her worthy of a more memorable  
monument.

She dyed (Alas, that she is dead !)  
the 17th of April, 1662, Aged 52.

STUDY TO BE LIKE HER.

The sister, as we have seen, had performed a mother's part to her brother almost from his infancy. How deeply that pathetic ejaculation—"She dyed (Alas, that she is dead !)" must have sunk in his memory. The bereavement falling at that solemn season of preparation may have strengthened, as well as saddened, the sweet enticements to loiter on the way. The ferns and wild flowers may be plucked from the intricate path of our earthly progress but to make it the plainer,

and thus hasten us on our appointed course,  
ere our sun has set.

Mr. Ken was, not long after, ordained  
Deacon. The exact date is unknown, but the  
year 1662 is ascertained from a payment made  
to him in that year being entered under the  
head of “*Solutio facta sacerdotibus.*”

## CHAPTER III.

LITTLE EASTON—LORD MAYNARD—LADY MAYNARD'S  
FUNERAL SERMON—GOODNESS VENERATED—THE GRA-  
CIOUS WOMAN—AN UNSULLIED LIFE—LETTERS—  
PRAYERS—SERMONS REMEMBERED—CARE OF THE SICK  
AND NEEDY—"THE POOR'S PRAYERS AN HERITAGE"  
—FAMILIAR INTERCOURSE—HOW OUR FRIENDS IL-  
LUSTRATE OURSELVES—"NIBBLING AT THE COMMON  
PRAYER."

ON the 20th of August, 1663, Mr. Ken was instituted Rector of Little Easton, in the Hundred of Dunmow, Essex. He received the living on the presentation of Lord Maynard. The parish church stood close to the park of Easton Lodge, the magnificent domain of this nobleman.

Lord Maynard and his wife, Lady Margaret, were earnest and active Church people. Maynard had been prominent during the Civil War as an unbending royalist. Although under impeachment for his political opinions by Parliament in 1647, he was one of the few peers who met, and unanimously refused to

concur with the Commons in bringing the King to trial. He was, after the Restoration, made Comptroller of the Household to Charles II., but lost his office in the succeeding reign, from his unwillingness to sacrifice his religious opinions to court favor. He was throughout his life and at his death a liberal benefactor to the Church.

Ken's sermon preached at the funeral of Lady Maynard, twenty years after the date with which we are at present occupied, furnishes us with a noble picture of a Christian matron. His text is from the sixteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of Proverbs, "A gracious woman retaineth honor." His opening sentence declares an important truth :

"The world was never yet so bad, but the good man, though his life was a continual satire to the age he lived in, did always either find or extort a veneration from it."

He continues, a little farther on, in the same strain :

"To attempt any laborious proof of so clear a truth as this, were needless ; do but consult the universal practice of mankind and read it there.

\* \* \* \* \* "Show me that profligate

wretch, who in his cool thoughts, or on his death-bed, does not decline all his loose companions, and seek out for men truly good and conscientious, to whom he may intrust his estate, his children, and all that is dearest to him, even his own soul, too, for which he then begs their ghostly counsel? What man is there so wicked, who on his death-bed does not wish that he may 'die the death of the righteous,' and that 'his latter end may be like his?' Look into the histories and customs of ages past—see how greedily coveted, how dearly purchased, and how highly valued the statues and all the little remains of good men have been! The heathens, to express their great esteem for goodness, built temples to virtue and honor, and joined these temples together, and made the former the only passage into the latter; they thought praise to good men as just a tribute as sacrifice to their gods; and one of the wisest of them wonderfully pleased himself in fancying how lovely and venerable, how divine and transporting an idea he should see, could he but look into the breast of a good man. We have, then, the practice and the judgment of the whole world to confirm this truth, that

virtue has always had a great and a general esteem, *that the gracious person retains honor.*"

The latter portion of his discourse is devoted to a eulogy of his deceased friend.

"Say, all you who have been eye-witnesses of her life, did you, from her very cradle, ever know her any other than a gracious woman? As to myself, I have had the honor to know her near twenty years, and to be admitted to her most intimate thoughts, and I cannot but think, upon the utmost of my observation, that she always preserved her baptismal innocence, that she never committed any one mortal sin, which put her out of the state of grace; insomuch that after all the frequent and severe examinations she made of her own conscience, her confessions were made up of no other than sins of infirmity, and yet even for them, she had as deep an humiliation, and as penitential a sorrow, as high a sense of the Divine forgiveness, and loved as much, as if she had had much to be forgiven; so that after a life of above forty years, nine of which were spent in the court, bating her involuntary failings, which are unavoidable, and for which allowances are made, in the covenant of grace,



she 'kept herself unspotted from the world,' and if it may be affirmed of any, I dare venture to affirm it of this *gracious woman*, that by the peculiar favor of Heaven, she passed from the font unsullied to her grave.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Her letters which were found in her cabinet, not to be delivered till after her death, and very many others in the hands of her relations, sufficiently show how good and great she was. \* \* Her very absence was the more supportable to her friends, in regard she compensated the want of her presence by writing, and sent them a blessing by every return. \* \* \* \* \*

"Her oratory was the place where she principally resided, and where she was most at home, and her chief employment was prayer and praise. Out of several authors, she, for her own use, transcribed many excellent forms, the very choice of which does argue a most experienced piety. \* \* Besides her own private prayers, she morning and evening offered up to God the public offices, and when she was not able to go to the house of prayer, she had it read to her in her chamber.

“To her prayers she added fasting till her weakness had made it impossible to her constitution. \* \* She never failed on all opportunities to approach the holy altar. \* \*

“The sermons she heard, when she came home she recollected, and wrote down, out of her memory, abstracts of them all, which are in a great number among her papers, that she might be ‘not only a hearer of the word, but a doer also.’” \* \* \* \* \*

Her charity made her sympathize with all in misery, and, besides her private alms, wherein her left hand was not conscious to her right, she was a common patroness to the poor and needy, and a common physician to her sick neighbors, and would often, with her own hands, dress their most loathsome sores, and sometimes keep them in her family, and would give them both diet and lodging till they were cured, and then clothe them and send them home, to give God thanks for their recovery; and if they died, her charity accompanied them sometimes to the very grave, and she took care even of their burial. She would by no means endure, “that by the care of plentifully providing for her children, the wants and necessities of any poor Christian

should be overlooked, and desired it might be remembered that, alms and the poor's prayers would bring a greater blessing to them than thousands a year."

We may form some idea from these passages of the extent to which the young Rector must have been aided and strengthened by the "gracious woman" who so happily occupied a position of influence in his little parish. It is pleasant to reflect how this long friendship of twenty years took root and had its first growth in the seclusion of country life; to follow with the mind's eye the student, leaving his books and his seclusion for the health-giving atmosphere of the park and the inspiring welcome at the hall. We can imagine the less formal meetings in the cottage of the poor, at the bedside of the sick.

We may learn, too, from the objects of a man's admiration, much of his own tastes, from the pursuits of his friends, somewhat of his own occupations. We find from these passages that Ken not only thus early approved, but obeyed, the Church's rule respecting daily morning and evening prayer, and the observance of the various times and seasons of the ritual year. It is pleasant to

be assured of this, for the period was one of much laxity in these respects, arising in a great measure from the disuse of the Liturgy during the Protectorate. According to Pepys, a congregation, probably of average London standing, had forgotten the *Gloria Patri*. He notes in his famous gossiping Diary, November 4th, 1660 : " In the morning to our own church, when Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying ' Glory be to the Father,' etc., after he had read the two psalms ; but the people had been so little used to it that they could not tell what to answer."

## CHAPTER IV.

MR. KEN CHAPLAIN TO BISHOP MORLEY — ST. JOHN'S  
IN THE SOKE — ELECTED A FELLOW OF WINCHESTER  
SCHOOL — DONATION TO NEW COLLEGE — RECTOR OF  
BRIGHTSTONE — THE COUNTESS OF WARWICK'S NOTES  
OF MR. KEN'S SERMONS — EFFECTS OF HIS ELOQUENCE  
— MR. KEN A PREBEND OF WINCHESTER — RECTOR OF  
WOODHAY — PLURALITIES — BISHOP KEN'S YEW HEDGE  
— THE REV. JOHN FITZWILLIAM — WOODHAY RESIGNED  
TO MR. HOOPER — SEVERE EXERTIONS AND LIMITED  
REST — THE MORNING HYMN — SUCCESS OF MR. KEN'S  
PREACHING — THE CRIPPLED BOY, TATTIE, RECOVERED  
— AN ALLEGED MIRACLE.

MR. KEN remained but two years at Little Easton, resigning his living on the 11th of April, 1665, to accept the post of chaplain to his friend Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester. He combined with his new duties the gratuitous charge of St. John's, "a forsaken parish in the Soke at Winchester,"\* about the same time. On the 8th of December, 1606, he was unanimously

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\* "Life of Ken," p. 51.

elected a Fellow of Winchester School. He resigned his Oxford fellowship in favor of this new appointment in the institution endeared to him as the home of his early years. He, however, always retained an affectionate regard for New College; and we find him, as soon as his income permitted the indulgence, presenting it with upwards of one hundred pounds, "as a small acknowledgment for his education, and towards the erection of their new building." \*

The quiet studies of the Winchester scholarship soon proved monotonous to the active mind of Mr. Ken. He preferred the more arduous career of the parish. In compliance with his preference, the Bishop, on the 6th of July, 1667, transferred him to the rectory of Brightstone, a pleasant village, four miles from Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight. He still retained his chaplaincy, and his parochial labors were occasionally interrupted by the duties of his office summoning him to the Bishop, at his town residence, Winchester House, Chelsea, near London. He was frequently called upon to preach on

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• "Life of Ken," p. 67.

these occasions. We find interesting mention of his sermons in the Diary of Mary, Countess of Warwick, a sister of the Hon. Robert Boyle. She was near akin to her celebrated brother in piety as well as blood. Her almsgiving was so noted, that on the death of her husband it was said (in anticipation of the use likely to be made by his widow of her inheritance), that "he had left his estate to charitable uses." "Such was the fame of her bounty and hospitality, that it advanced the rent of the houses in her neighborhood, where she was the common arbitress of controversies, which she decided with great sagacity and judgment, and prevented many tedious and expensive law-suits.\*

This good lady writes :

"*Easter Day, 7th April, 1667.*—Went to church, where I heard Mr. Ken preach ; his text was 1 John iii. 3 : '*And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as He is pure.*' I was very attentive at the sermon, and moved by it.

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\* Grainger's Biog. Hist., IV., p. 166. Quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 70.

“*Sunday, 22d December, 1667.*—After I came home in the afternoon from hearing Mr. Ken, God was pleased to move my heart to speak to my lord about things of everlasting concernment; and I was enabled, in an awakened frame of spirit, to persuade him to repentance, and to make his peace with God.

“*Christmas, 25th December, 1667.*—In the afternoon, Mr. Ken preached; his text was: ‘*For this cause was the Son of God manifested in the flesh, that he might destroy the works of the devil.*’ I was attentive and affected at the sermon.

“*Sunday, 9th February, 1668.*—I went to church to hear Mr. Ken preach. His text was: ‘*Behold, thou art made whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.*’ John v. 14. It was a very good sermon, and God was pleased much to affect my heart with it; and whilst he was preaching upon that passage, ‘*Sin no more,*’ God was pleased to make me, with strong desires and many tears, to beg power against sin for the time to come.”

Mr. Ken remained at Brightstone for two years, when he received the unsolicited honor



of a Prebend in the Cathedral of Winchester from the Bishop. He was installed on the 12th of April, 1669. On the 28th of the following month he received from the Bishop the living of Woodhay, near Winchester. He might have retained his former parish, enjoying its emoluments, and leaving its duties to be discharged by a curate or assistant, without comment or objection ; for such was then, and such to a less extent still remains, the custom of the English clergy. We are glad that the practice, unjust to the laity and degrading to the clerical character, received his tacit disapproval. On the day of his entrance on the duties of Woodhay, he resigned Brightstone to the Bishop from whom he had received it.

Mr. Ken's parishioners parted from him with regret ; and so lasting has their affectionate remembrance proved, that "Bishop Ken's yew hedge" is still pointed out to visitors in the garden of the parsonage.

Brightstone is pleasantly connected with a later period in the career of its worthy rector, by the warm friendship which existed between his successor, the Rev. John Fitzwilliam, and himself. Mr. Fitzwilliam was

the intimate friend of the excellent Lady Rachel Russell for many years after the execution of her husband. His affectionate regard for Mr. Ken ended not with his life; for we find that he made him executor to his will, and bequeathed to him the annual interest of five hundred pounds for his life—the principal sum to become afterwards the property of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Mr. Ken remained Rector of Woodhay until the 8th of November, 1672. He then resigned his living to his friend George Hooper, and resumed his residence at Winchester. The change was probably made in compliance with the wishes of the Bishop, who, now far advanced in years, was desirous of retaining near him a friend in whose judgment he placed great confidence.

Mr. Ken was however unwilling to forego the duties of a parish priest, and finding his old field of labor, St. John's in the Soke, still unprovided for, devoted himself anew to his unpaid and humble labor. This, with his duties as chaplain to the Bishop and Fellow of Winchester School, entailed such severe labor, that as his earliest biographer, Hawkins, informs us, "in the evening, when he loved to

enjoy the society of his friends, he was so worn down with the exertions of the day, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open." Instead, however, of yielding to exhaustion, his endeavors seem to have been directed to a course of bodily training which should enable him to devote a still greater measure of time to his work. "And that neither his study might be the aggressor on his hours of instruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; or both interrupt his closet addresses to his God, he strictly accustomed himself to but one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two of the clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner; and this grew so habitual, that it continued with him almost till his last illness."

Well may the same chronicler beautifully remark: "He seemed to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigor and cheerfulness to sing his Morning Hymn."

His energetic labors met with their wonted reward. Multitudes, attracted by his eloquence, were benefitted and comforted by his ministrations. Several among these, thus happily influenced, were dissenters. "He

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brought many Anabaptists to the Church of England, and baptized them himself." The clergyman gained, of course, the entire love and confidence of his humble auditors. A curious instance of this remains on record.

A poor woman of the parish had a sadly afflicted son. When about a year old, having previously "had his health very well, and all his teeth, he was," his mother tells us, "taken with fits, both inward and outward, which were so violent that he lost the use of his legs," and his teeth fell out. He crawled on his back for five years.

At the age of six he was baptized by Dr. Ken. "About a week and odd days after, sitting at the door in his chair, one of his playmates called him Tattie; the child (which never spake before) answered, 'My name is not Tattie—my name is Matthew; Dr. Ken has baptized me.' About a fortnight after, sitting at the door in a chair, he started up and went among his playfellows without being bid, and without leading; and that very day month following his baptism, he went in my hand to the church in which he was baptized (which is near a quarter of a

mile from my then dwelling), and answered several questions of the Church Catechism."

The mother's letter, signed Sarah Cante, is among the Baker MSS. in the British Museum Library. The cure seems to have been permanent as well as speedy. It is not more remarkable than many recorded in medical history, but it doubtless produced a great effect among a humble population, in an age of little general information. Dr. Ken himself was among the credulous. He is said to have spoken of the occurrence thirteen years after as "a great miracle."\* The remark was in accordance with the spirit of the age. Almost every leading man of the day would have expressed the same opinion, and could be proved to have done so in many a similar case. The story proves, happily, Ken's reverence as well as his superstition. We find him lending a too easy belief to the connection between a solemn ministerial act and a remarkable cure. We do not find him endorsing a vulgar ghost-story, or striving to pry with profane gaze into the hidden things of the spirit-world.

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\* Evelyn's Diary, Sept. 16, 1685.

## CHAPTER V.

DR. KEN'S MANUAL OF PRAYERS—FRUIT OF THE PLEASURES OF SIN—THE YOUNG CONVERT WELCOME TO GOD—EARLY PIETY—THE SOUL UNDRESSED—"DIRECTIONS FOR THE YOUNGEST"—THE CATECHISM—THE MORNING, EVENING, AND MIDNIGHT HYMNS—LIBERTIES—THE THREE HYMNS—A PLEASANT TRADITION.

WE are now to speak of Dr. Ken as an author. His first publication, "A Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College and all other Devout Christians," appeared in 1674. It is addressed to "Philotheus, Lover of God," as the representative of the class for whom it is designed. A passage or two from the opening "Exhortation" will best convey an idea of its purpose and style.

"O Philotheus, do but ask any one old penitent, what fruit, what satisfaction he hath purchased to himself, by all those pleasures of sin which flattered him in his youth, and of which he is now ashamed. Will he not sadly tell you, he has found them all to be but

vanity and vexation of spirit? How will he befool himself for the many good opportunities he hath lost, and wish a thousand times that he were to live over his misspent days again. \* \* \* \* \*

“Do but consider how welcome a young convert is to God; it was to young Samuel that God revealed himself, and that at such a time too, when the word of God was precious and very rare, to show how much God honored a young prophet; and you know that St. John, the youngest of all the disciples, is the only person of all the twelve who was permitted to lean on our Saviour’s bosom, at the last supper, as dearest to him in affection, and who is emphatically called the disciple whom Jesus loved. \* \* \*

“An early piety! than which nothing will make you a greater comfort to all your friends, or a greater blessing to the very college where you are bred; nothing will make you more universally esteemed and beloved by all men, or more successful in your studies; and besides that peace of conscience, and the pleasure of well-doing, you will at present feel; think, if you can, how unconceivable a joy it will be to you when, in your

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elder years, you can reflect on your well-spent time, and the innocence of your youth ; how great a consolation it will be to you on your death-bed, how easy it will render your accompts at the great day of judgment, and how much a whole life spent in God's service will increase your glory in heaven."

"Directions in General" follow, for the proper distribution of the devotions of the day.

"As soon," he beautifully remarks, "as ever you awake in the morning, good Philotheus, strive as much as you can to keep all worldly thoughts out of your mind, till you have presented the first-fruits of the day to God, which will be an excellent preparative to make you spend the rest of it the better.

\* \* \* \* \*

"When you are ready, look on your soul as still undressed, till you have said your prayers."

His "Directions for the Youngest" show his practical good sense as well as kindness of heart.

"If you are very young, good Philotheus, that God's commands may not seem grievous to you at your first setting out, I shall advise



you to no more than your infant devotion will bear ; and that is, to take great care to learn your catechism without book, and to learn to understand it ; for it is impossible you can ever go to heaven, unless you learn the way thither."

The exhortations and prayers which compose the rest of this admirable book, have in view a full preparation for the duties of life, and especially for the fit reception of the Holy Communion. The devout ascription, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," so great a favorite with the Bishop throughout life, is frequently met with.

The little volume closes with "Three Hymns, by the author of the Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College." Two of these, the Morning and Evening Hymns, have a world-wide fame. That inspiring strain—

Awake, my soul, and with the sun  
Thy daily stage of duty run,

has been for more than a century the *réveille*,  
and the mellow chime,

Glory to thee, my God, this night,  
the vesper bell of Protestant England and

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America. The Midnight Hymn has, on the contrary, lapsed into an obscurity as dark and quiet as that suggested by its title. It should be as well known as its companions, for it is fully their equal. Like many poems of their class in popular use, the Morning and Evening Hymns have suffered from change and curtailment. Revisers of hymn books seem tacitly to claim a "right divine of doing wrong." Under the plea of adapting compositions to choirs, they have taken greater liberties with the writings of celebrated authors than almost any other class of revisers and "editors." Scarcely a single popular hymn is sung as its author wrote it. Several writers have in their lifetime raised a protest against this wrong-doing, but they have been little heeded. Dr. Ken has suffered at least as much as any of his honored brethren. Not only have half of his stanzas been dropped, but many words in those permitted to remain have been altered. Some of the omitted verses may, perhaps, well be spared, but few can be found, we think, to approve the verbal alterations. We quote the three hymns entire, as they are seldom to be met with in their original form:

## A MORNING HYMN.

AWAKE, my soul, and with the sun  
Thy daily stage of duty run ;  
Shake off dull sloth, and joyful rise,  
To pay thy morning sacrifice.

Thy precious time misspent, redeem,  
Each present day thy last esteem ;  
Improve thy talent with due care,  
For the great day thyself prepare.

In conversation be sincere,  
Keep conscience as the noon-tide clear.  
Think how all-seeing God thy ways,  
And all thy secret thoughts surveys.

By influence of the light divine,  
Let thy own light to others shine,  
Reflect all heaven's propitious rays,  
In ardent love and cheerful praise.

Wake, and lift up thyself, my heart,  
And with the angels bear thy part,  
Who all night long unwearied sing  
High praise to the Eternal King.

I wake, I wake, ye heavenly choir,  
May your devotion me inspire,  
That I like you my age may spend,  
Like you may on my God attend.

May I like you on God delight,  
Have all day long my God in sight,  
Perform like you my Maker's will,  
O, may I never more do ill !

Had I your wings, to heaven I'd fly,  
But God shall that defect supply ;  
And my soul wing'd with warm desire,  
Shall all day long to heaven aspire.

All praise to Thee, who safe hast kept,  
And hast refresh'd me whilst I slept !  
Grant, Lord, when I from death shall wake,  
I may of endless light partake.

I would not wake, nor rise again,  
Even heaven itself I would disdain,  
Wert not Thou there to be enjoyed,  
And I in hymns to be employed.

Heav'n is, dear Lord, where'er Thou art ;  
O never, then, from me depart :  
For to my soul 'tis hell to be  
But for one moment void of Thee.

Lord, I my vows to Thee renew ;  
Disperse my sins as morning dew ;  
Guard my first springs of thought and will,  
And with Thyself my spirit fill.

Direct, control, suggest, this day,  
All I design, or do, or say,  
That all my powers, with all their might,  
In Thy sole glory may unite.

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,  
Praise Him, all creatures here below,  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host,  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

## AN EVENING HYMN.

ALL praise to Thee, my God, this night,  
For all the blessings of the light.  
Keep me, O keep me, King of kings,  
Beneath Thy own Almighty wings !

Forgive me, Lord, for Thy dear Son,  
The ill that I this day have done ;  
That with the world, myself, and Thee,  
I ere I sleep at peace may be.

Teach me to live, that I may dread  
The grave as little as my bed ;  
To die, that this vile body may  
Rise glorious at the awful day.

O may my soul on Thee repose,  
And may sweet sleep mine eyelids close !  
Sleep that may me more vig'rous make,  
To serve my God when I awake.

When in the night I sleepless lie,  
My soul with heavenly thoughts supply ;  
Let no ill dreams disturb my rest,  
No power of darkness me molest.

Dull sleep of sense me to deprive,  
I am but half my time alive ;  
Thy faithful lovers, Lord, are griev'd  
To lie so long of Thee bereav'd.

But tho' sleep o'er my frailty reigns,  
Let it not hold me long in chains ;  
And now and then let loose my heart,  
Till it an hallelujah dart.

The faster sleep the senses binds,  
The more unfetter'd are our minds ;  
O may my soul, from matter free,  
Thy loveliness unclouded see !

O when shall I, in endless day,  
Forever chase dark sleep away,  
And hymns with the supernal choir  
Incessant sing and never tire !

O may my Guardian, while I sleep,  
Close to my bed His vigils keep,  
His love angelical instil,  
Stop all the avenues of ill.

May He celestial joy rehearse,  
And thought to thought with me converse,  
Or in my stead, all the night long,  
Sing to my God a grateful song.

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,  
Praise Him, all creatures here below,  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host,  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

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A MIDNIGHT HYMN.

My God, now I from sleep awake  
The sole possession of me take ;  
From midnight terrors me secure,  
And guard my heart from thoughts impure.

Bless'd angels ! while we silent lie,  
You hallelujahs sing on high ;  
You joyful hymn the ever-bless'd,  
Before the throne, and never rest.

I with your choir celestial join  
In offering up a hymn divine ;  
With you in heaven I hope to dwell,  
And bid the night and world farewell.

My soul, when I shake off this dust,  
Lord, in Thy arms I will intrust ;  
O make me Thy peculiar care—  
Some mansion for my soul prepare !

Give me a place at thy saints' feet,  
Or some fall'n angel's vacant seat ;  
I'll strive to sing as loud as they  
Who sit above in brighter day.

O may I always ready stand,  
With my lamp burning in my hand ;  
May I in sight of heav'n rejoice,  
Whene'er I hear the Bridegroom's voice.

All praise to Thee in light array'd,  
Who light Thy dwelling-place hast made :  
A boundless ocean of bright beams  
From Thy all-glorious Godhead streams.

The sun in its meridian height  
Is very darkness in Thy sight.  
My soul, O lighten and inflame  
With thought and love of Thy great name.

Blessed Jesu ! Thou on heaven intent,  
Whole nights hast in devotion spent ;  
But I, frail creature, soon am tired,  
And all my zeal is soon expir'd.

My soul, how canst thou weary grow  
Of antedating bliss below  
In sacred hymns and heavenly love,  
Which will eternal be above.

Shine on me, Lord, new life impart,  
Fresh ardors kindle in my heart ;  
One ray of Thy all-quick'ning light  
Dispels the sloth and clouds of night.

Lord, lest the tempter me surprise,  
Watch over thine own sacrifice ;  
All loose, all idle thoughts cast out,  
And make my very dreams devout.

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,  
Praise Him, all creatures here below,  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host,  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

A curious similarity has been pointed out by the well-known poet, James Montgomery, between portions of the "Evening Hymn" and the following lines by Sir Thomas Browne, which are found in his *Religio Medici*, first published in 1642. They are introduced in a passage on Sleep.

"It is that death by which we may be



literally said to die daily; a death which Adam died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death. In fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God:

‘The night is come, like to the day;  
Depart not Thou, great God, away.  
Let not my sins, black as the night,  
Eclipse the lustre of Thy light.  
Keep still in my horizon, for to me,  
The sun makes not the day, but Thee.  
Thou, whose nature cannot sleep,  
On my temples sentry keep:  
Guard me ’gainst those watchful foes,  
Whose eyes are open while mine close.  
Let no dreams my head infest  
But such as Jacob’s temples blest.  
While I do rest, my soul advance;  
Make my sleep a holy trance,  
That I may, my rest being wrought,  
Awake into some holy thought,  
And with as active vigor run  
My course as doth the nimble sun.  
Sleep is a death;—O make me try,  
By sleeping, what it is to die!  
And as gently lay my head  
On my grave, as now my bed.  
Howe’er I rest, great God, let me,  
Awake again at last with Thee;

And, thus assur'd, behold I lie  
Securely, or to wake or die.  
These are my drowsy days; in vain  
I do now wake to sleep again.  
O come that hour, when I shall never  
Sleep again, but wake for ever !'

"This is the dormitive I take to bed-ward ;  
I need no other laudanum than this to make  
me sleep ; after which I close mine eyes in  
security, content to take my leave of the sun,  
and sleep unto the resurrection."

A pleasant tradition, handed down in the  
Fenwicke family, asserts that Dr. Ken, dur-  
ing his visits to Hallaton, in Leicestershire,  
was wont to sing his own hymns, accom-  
panying himself on the spinnet. We have  
already seen that he was fond of music. He  
carried his taste with him from Oxford to  
Winchester, where his organ remained for  
many years after his death, in the room he  
occupied as Fellow.

## CHAPTER VI.

VISIT TO ITALY—YEAR OF JUBILEE—ALLUSION TO THE  
TOUR IN "THE COMPLETE ANGLER"—POPERY—CHARLES  
II.—DR. KEN CHAPLAIN TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE  
— THE NETHERLANDS WAR OF LIBERATION — THE  
PRINCESS OF ORANGE—COURT GOSSIP—HENRY SIDNEY'S  
DIARY — COUNT ZULENSTEIN'S MARRIAGE—DR. KEN'S  
SPIRITED CONDUCT—EFFORT FOR UNION WITH THE  
DUTCH CLERGY—COL. FITZPATRICK.

IN 1675 Dr. Ken visited Italy. He was accompanied on his tour by his nephew, Isaac Walton, the son of the good man who, long since come to four-score years, was calmly and serenely passing the evening of his days in the household of his old friend Bishop Morley. This journey was at the time a serious undertaking, but offered then, as now, attractions which few men of education, possessed of means, resisted. It was almost entirely performed by land, on horseback.

The period was one of peculiar interest for their purpose, it having been proclaimed far and wide by the Pope as a year of

jubilee. This festival had been introduced by Pope Boniface VIII., in the year 1300, and was designed to be centennially celebrated. It was, however, so great a success, and brought so much money to the monarch, from the contributions of the pilgrims to the various shrines, that it was repeated by Clement VI., in 1350. So great was the concourse, that it was estimated that Rome contained, on Christmas Day, from one million to twelve hundred thousand persons. The period was again shortened by Pope Paul II., and a jubilee held in 1475.

In the second part of "The Complete Angler," written by Walton's son-in-law, Charles Cotton, we find a brief allusion to their tour, Piscator remarking of young Master Isaac Walton that "he had been in France, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where." This is all that we know about the movements of the travellers. Neither was carried away by the allurements of the Papal city. Dr. Ken was often heard to say, "that he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels, since (if it were possible) he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Protestant religion than he was before," and

young Walton lived and died a presbyter of the Church of England.

The three years following Dr. Ken's return were passed in the quiet routine of his Winchester duties. The tranquil scene of his labors was, however, often transformed into one of festivity, when the King passed through, sometimes on a visit of inspection to Portsmouth, sometimes on a hunting excursion in the New Forest. The monarch had little sympathy with the clergy. He led a life of scandalous, unblushing licentiousness. The head of the Church of England, he was in secret a Papist. He had learned nothing from his father's fate and his own exile. He had a reputation for good-humor, which he deserves no great credit for, as he came into power on a wave of popularity which bore him on through life.

With all his faults he seems to have had some insight into character and respect for worth. His visits brought Dr. Ken to his notice. The Bishop's influence was not wanting in behalf of his friend, and the King probably respected few men more highly than this venerable man who had given his father's desperate cause an unwavering sup-

port during the long struggle. Dr. Ken's talents once allowed a hearing, could be safely left to work their own way.

We are now to follow our divine from the quiet of rural parishes and college cloisters, to the turbulence of courts and politics. Dr. Ken was appointed in 1679, by the King, chaplain and almoner to his niece, Mary, eldest daughter of James, Duke of York. She resided at the Hague with her husband, William, Prince of Orange, a great man, destined to restore the liberties of England.

The Prince was the son of the second William of Orange and Mary, daughter of Charles I., of England. He was born a few days after the death of his father, on the 4th of November, 1650.

Holland had gained her territory, by the industry and skill of her inhabitants, from the sea. She had gained, by a like heroic energy and perseverance, her freedom from Spain. The struggle was long and arduous, but the little confederate states finally triumphed in the political as in the elemental contest. William of Orange, the great leader, became Stadtholder. He was succeeded in his office by his son, who died as we have seen in 1650.

Holland had a dangerous neighbor in Louis XIV., King of France. He hated Protestantism, which she had from the first zealously adopted, and hated Republicanism, which was the basis of her federated union. He gathered an army of a hundred thousand men, crossed the Rhine, invaded the country, and took possession of Utrecht. The States, weakened by internal dissensions, and thus despairing of success, sent deputies to treat with the monarch. He would accept naught but unconditional surrender and future dependence.

Refusing this, the nation sought the aid of William of Orange. He was appointed Captain-General. His first act was to embarrass the enemy by opening the great dyke and flooding a large extent of country. Profiting by the delay thus gained, he with great skill and energy formed an alliance with Germany and Spain against France. He commanded the allied armies with consummate ability, and in a short period drove back Louis, established the permanent independence of his country, and placed himself at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe. His connexion with the royal family of England strengthened this position.

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William, consummate in camp and cabinet, seems to have been deficient in the minor graces of life. His taciturnity gained him the unenviable reputation of coldness, even in his domestic relations. "The court began to whisper the Prince's sullenness or clownishness" during the brief three weeks which elapsed between his marriage and his return, with his bride, to Holland.

William is accused, during his early married years, of unfaithfulness as well as coldness to his wife. The fact is interesting to us, as it gave occasion to a spirited discharge of duty on the part of the Princess' chaplain. Henry Sidney, an English gentleman at that time at the Dutch court, writes:

"*March* 31, 1680.—Dr. Ken was with me. I find he is horribly unsatisfied with the Prince, and thinks that he is not kind to his wife; he resolved to speak with him, though he kicks him out of doors."

We are not informed whether the design was put into execution, and if so, with what effect. Dr. Ken, however, soon had another cause for interference. Count Zulenstein, a favorite of the Stadtholder, had gained the affections of a beautiful Englishwoman, Jane



Worth, maid of honor to the Princess. The Count had promised to marry the lady, and she had foolishly and wickedly permitted unwarrantable liberties. He now hesitated in the fulfilment of his engagement. Dr. Ken became acquainted with the facts. The case appealed powerfully to his sympathy on personal grounds. The lady was a member of one of the first families of England, first not only in rank, but in service to the state, and her mother was sister to his friend Lord Maynard. He sought out the Count, and by eloquent remonstrances so wrought on the better nature of the lover, that the marriage soon after took place.

William appears for some reason to have been angry with Dr. Ken on account of this affair, which occurred during his absence at Amsterdam. He threatened on his return to dismiss the chaplain. Dr. Ken met his anger with spirit. "He resented his threats, and begging leave of the Princess, warned himself from the service." William perceived on reflection the injustice and bad policy of his conduct. He entreated Dr. Ken to return "to his former post and respect." Ken, with his usual amiability, complied, and consented

to retain his office for a year longer. He had no further cause of complaint, for he was henceforth "in as much favor with the Prince, and as obligingly treated by all, as he could desire." He was far from being insensible to William's great merits and services to the Protestant cause. He devoutly recognized "the great mercy of God in raising up, at this time, so powerful and resolute a patron of the Reformed Church."

Dr. Ken was solicited, during his residence in Holland, by his friend Dr. Lloyd, afterward Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, to make an effort to induce some of the Dutch clergy to conform to the Church of England. The doctrines of the two parties were, in the main, similar, except on the subject of the ministry, the Dutch, with the other Continental reformers, having abandoned the primitive doctrine of the government of the Church by bishops.

The chaplain declined taking any steps in the matter. His reasons are well set forth in his letter to the Bishop.\*

He had, however, the satisfaction of securing

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"Life of Ken," p. 167.

a distinguished convert from the Church of Rome, Colonel Fitzpatrick, described as a "person of great estate, interest, and understanding." The Colonel, after devoting six months to reading and reflection on the points in dispute, "is at last convinced," Henry Sidney writes, on the 31st of August, "that the Protestant religion is the true religion; and this day, in my chamber, he made a declaration of it to Dr. Ken, from whose hands he soon after received the Sacrament."

## CHAPTER VII.

DR. KEN'S RETURN—APPOINTED KING'S CHAPLAIN—DEATH OF LADY MAYNARD—KING CHARLES' PALACE AT WESTMINSTER—MRS. GWYN'S LODGINGS—TANGIER—LORD DARTMOUTH—NAVY CHAPLAINS IN ILL REPUTE—DR. KEN APPOINTED TO THE TANGIER FLEET—PEPYS AND EVELYN'S LETTERS RESPECTING THE EXPEDITION—DR. KEN'S DISCHARGE OF HIS DUTIES—HIS PLAIN SERMONS—COL. KEMPE—PEPYS' NOTES—LIBERATION OF SLAVES—RETURN.

WE find Dr. Ken at the house of his friend Francis Turner, in London, during October, 1680. He had gained, as he well deserved, the fullest confidence and respect of the Princess Mary, and it is supposed that his appointment, immediately after his return as one of the King's chaplains, was due in some measure to her influence.

As the duties of this office merely required him to preach a sermon at intervals of several months before the court, he probably resumed his residence at Winchester. In 1682 he had to lament the loss of his dear friend Lady

Maynard. He embalmed her virtues, as we have seen, in a funeral sermon. It was published at her husband's request, and has thus been fortunately preserved for us.

King Charles still continued his visits to Winchester. He became so attached to this beautifully situated city, that, after the destruction of his palace at Newmarket by fire, he determined to build himself another, on the ruins of the ancient castle. Sir Christopher Wren drew the plans of an edifice whose estimated cost was £35,000 ; lands were bought for a park, and the corner stone was laid on the 23d of March, 1683.

The King was accompanied on his visits by the rabble rout of dissolute men and women who filled the nation's palaces, and squandered the nation's money. The crowd were accommodated with lodgings by the "Harbinger," an official who preceded the royal train to assign apartments in private houses for the purpose. On one of these occasions Dr. Ken was called upon to prepare a mansion, which he held by virtue of his Cathedral prebend, for the reception of Mrs. Nell Gwyn, one of the King's most distinguished female favorites. To his great honor "he absolutely

refused her admittance, declaring that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the house of a clergyman, especially the King's chaplain."

Dr. Ken's boldness and dignity stand out the more conspicuously in contrast with the conduct of the Dean, Meggot, who built a room for Mrs. Gwyn at the south end of his deanery. Dr. Ken could have been influenced in his refusal solely by a sense of his own dignity and the respect due to the property of the Church. It is but just to poor Nelly to say that she was the best of a bad set, and probably had nothing to do personally with the impudent demand made on her account. She doubtless took possession of her new apartment with a thorough respect for Ken, and a thorough contempt for Meggot. The deanery wing remained standing, and known as the Nell Gwyn, until pulled down by an incumbent of a different stamp, Dean Reynell, who was, it may reasonably be supposed, ashamed of it.

The King seems to have had the good sense to look at the matter in the proper light, and respected his chaplain the more for his tacit rebuke.

In 1683, Dr. Ken was appointed chaplain of the fleet sent, under command of Lord Dartmouth, to destroy the fortifications of Tangier. This city had come into the hands of Charles as part of the dower of his queen, Catherine of Braganza. It was regarded at the time as of great value, from its position at the entrance of the Mediterranean. Very large sums of money had been voted by Parliament for the construction of a mole and fortifications for the harbor, but these had been almost entirely wasted by the corrupt officials in charge of the place, so that further grants were at last refused, and the King consequently forced to abandon the place.

Lord Dartmouth was an upright commander, and sought Ken's appointment from an earnest desire for the spiritual welfare of the service. The naval chaplains of the time bore a bad character. They seem to have been appointed from mere favoritism, without the least regard to mental or even bodily qualifications. In making a similar application to Dr. Peachell, Master of Magdalen College, a few years later, Lord Dartmouth expressed sentiments similar, doubtless, to

those he experienced on the present occasion. He writes :

“I think it of the highest importance to have the ablest and best man I can possibly obtain to go with me, both for the service of God, and the good government of the clergy that are chaplains in the fleet. My most earnest request to you is, that if it be not too great an inconvenience, you would do me the honor and favor to go with me this short voyage. I beg it of you for God’s sake, and as I am to answer to Him for the preservation of so many souls as He hath been pleased to put under my care, I have nothing more but to beg your prayers and blessings, with pardon for this confident desire.”

The chaplains were not only selected without care, but hampered in the discharge of their duty by insufficient provision not only for their personal wants, but even for the simple requirements of public service. “The chaplains of His Majesty’s ships,” writes Pepys, “set out unfurnished with books and necessities ; and are forced on mean compliances from shifts sometimes and base tricks. Hence they meet with neglects and contempts that always attend poverty. They want comforts



which some of the meanest in the ship enjoy. Their small pay, equal to but a common seaman's, etc. The chaplain is scarcely reckoned an officer. He has no power even in his own office, not daring to order the bell to ring to prayers, but with leave first had of the captain. Besides, the hours of prayer are not fixed and stated ; but being left to the commander's pleasure, are sometimes omitted, as his particular business, indisposition, or indeliberation incline. Hence great neglects, and sometimes total omission of divine service, which makes the chaplain looked upon as useless, and as the seamen sometimes tell him to his face, having their money for nothing."\*

Such a state of things certainly called loudly for reform, and when we remember Dr. Ken's earnest sense of duty, we can not be surprised at his willingness to forego, for a season, his home comforts, to aid in this good cause. His position as chaplain was of course on an equality with the other superior officers of the fleet, and he was to have good companions. Pepys, who was of the party, writes to Evelyn, " I shall go in a good ship, with a good

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\* The chaplains were paid out of the seamen's wages.

fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightful as companions of the first form in divinity, law, physic, and the usefulest parts of mathematics can render it, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Sheres; with the additional pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes, and violins; and to fill up all, good-humor, good cheer, some good books, etc., and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than two months."

Evelyn answers enthusiastically, "Me-thinks, when you recount all the circumstances of your voyage, your noble and choice company, such useful and delightful conversations, you leave us so naked at home, that, till you return from Barbary, we are in danger of becoming barbarians. The heroes are all embarked with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys; nay, they seem to carry with them, not a colony only, but a College, nay, an whole University; all the sciences, all the arts, and all the professors of them, too."

The fleet sailed from Portsmouth in the early part of August, the object of the expedition being kept secret. Dr. Ken read service and preached regularly on Sundays. He

composed on the voyage his epic poem of "Edmund." After a long passage of five weeks, the fleet arrived at Tangier. The chaplain continued his services on shore, and, as we learn from Pepys' Diary, exhorted with his wonted fearlessness.

"30th September, Sunday.—To church; a very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful, argument from Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the Governor, and the officers about us in church; but I perceived they regarded it not." Mr. Pepys need not have pained himself about the Governor. The office was held by Colonel Kirke, one of the greatest miscreants of the age, and soon to pillory himself in history beside Judge Jeffries.

Kempe's corrupt and cruel sway had done much to defeat the English occupation of Tangier. Not content with having cheated the government in the erection of fortifications which on examination proved utterly useless, as they were commanded by the natural heights surrounding the place, he threw every obstacle in the way of demolition, so that the allotted two months were extended to four ere the work was completed. The gentlemen of

the expedition were disgusted with the profanity and dissoluteness of the officials and population. Pepys writes on the 26th of October, "Being a little ill and troubled at so much loose company at table, my Lord not being there, I dined in my chamber; and Dr. Ken, for the same reason, came and dined with me. We had a great deal of good discourse on the viciousness of this place, and its being time for Almighty God to destroy it."

Dr. Ken spoke out in public as well as private. Pepys' next entry is on

"28th October, Sunday.—Very high discourse between Dr. Ken and me on the one side, and the Governor on the other, about the excessive liberty of swearing we observe here. The Doctor, it seems, had preached on it to-day."

The demolition was completed in January, 1684, but the departure of the fleet was delayed for the completion of a treaty with the Moors for the liberation of Christian slaves captured in their piratical expeditions. The compensation to settlers for the destruction of their property had also to be adjusted, and the settlers themselves embarked. These matters accomplished in spite of the cheat-

ing hindrances of Kempe, the ships set sail on the 5th of March. The Governor, by right of his official position, returned in the same ship with the chaplain. We seldom have a more striking example presented of the wheat and the tares, side by side, awaiting the harvest.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF IZAAK WALTON—DR. KEN APPOINTED BISHOP  
OF BATH AND WELLS—HIS POVERTY—CONSECRATION  
—DR. YOUNG'S SERMON—BISHOP KEN'S GIFT TO ST.  
PAUL'S CATHEDRAL—HIS LIBERALITY.

DR. KEN arrived in England, with the fleet, early in April. The joy of his return to Winchester was saddened by the loss of his venerable brother-in-law, the guide of his youth. Good Izaak Walton had for three months past rested beneath the pavement of Winchester Cathedral. His will bears testimony to his affection for Dr. Ken in the bequest of a ring to be inscribed "A Friend's Farewell,—I. W. obiit 15 Dec. 1683." Dr. Ken inherited a still more precious memento, in the ring with the seal, "the anchor, and Christ,\*" which Walton had received from his friend Dr. Donne, used during his life and stamped upon his will. It is interesting to trace the history of this relic. In the beautiful language of the biographer to



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\* *Vide* "Life of George Herbert."

whom we are to be so much indebted throughout our work, "All Ken's letters in the Bodleian Library and in the possession of Dr. Williams, warden of New College, bear the impress of this seal, *as also his own will*, in which he professed his adherence to the 'Communion of the Church of England,' as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross. On Ken's death it descended to Isaac Walton, Junior, *who likewise sealed his will with it*, bearing equal testimony to the 'Communion of the Church of England,' as having reformed herself with that sound judgment and godly sincerity, as to be the soundest and purest part of the Church Catholic at this time existent." Thus in life they were all united by the closest bonds of affection, and in death each was a witness to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith of the Anglican Church. This little Heliotropian stone, set in a golden ring, and descending from one to the other as an heir-loom, was a type of the succession of holy men, which will never be wanting in the Church of Christ.\*

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\* The ring is now in the possession of Henry Alworth

A few months later, Dr. Ken was called to Farnham Castle, the residence of the Bishop of Winchester, to attend the death-bed of another old friend and benefactor, Bishop Morley. "He did humbly in his last days beg all good men's prayers, and went to his grave full of years, honors, and charitable works."

Dr. Mews, Bishop of Bath and Wells, succeeded Bishop Morley in the see of Winchester. The King at once selected Dr. Ken as the successor of the translated prelate. "Where," he asked, in his usual unceremonious manner, "is the good little man that refused his lodging to poor Nell?"

This was not the only occasion on which the priest "had pricked the conscience of the King." His sermons as court chaplain appear to have been equally plain spoken, Charles leaving the circle of his flatterers on one occasion when Dr. Ken was to officiate,

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Merewether, Esq., Q. C., of Bowden Hill, near Chippenham, who is descended from Walton, in the female line. He derived it from the late Dr. Hawes, Minor Canon of Salisbury Cathedral, who was also connected in the same manner with Walton.—*Life of Ken.*



with the remark, "I must go and hear Ken tell me of my faults."

It is pleasant to record these traces of a better nature in the careless monarch, especially as we reflect that this was his last public act.

Dr. Ken was so poor, it having been his constant practice to bestow almost the whole of his income in charity, that at the time of his consecration, Mr. Francis Morley, the late Bishop's nephew, "knowing how little he had provided for such an expense as attends the entrance and continuance in such a chair," lent him a considerable sum of money "to defray his expenses and furnish him with an equipage, as his station required."\*

Dr. Ken was consecrated Bishop at Lambeth Palace, on the festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, Sunday, January 25, 1685. His friend Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, took part in the laying on of hands. The consecration sermon was preached by another old schoolmate and associate, a Fellow of Winchester College, of his maturer years, Edward Young, Canon, and afterwards Dean, of

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\* Hawkins' "Life of Ken."

Salisbury. The sermon is an able composition, and has fortunately been preserved. It states with truth, that Ken had not only been "wish'd and nominated, but sought, woo'd, and commanded, out of his retirement, to the undertaking of the charge."

"Do thou," it earnestly concludes, "stir up the gift of God which is in thee, 'do thou quicken the divine coal that toucheth thee,' and thy coal shall blaze into a flame, and thy flame shall be ennobled into a star, a vast orb of light, such as shall crown the head of all those happy men who, by their conduct and example, turn many unto righteousness."

The first act of the new Bishop was in harmony with his life-long career of self-denial. It was the custom of the time, that a consecration to the Episcopate should be followed on the same day by a dinner, given by the new prelate, to the dignitaries present on the occasion. Bishop Ken denied himself the pleasure of exercising this hospitality, bestowing the money which the entertainment would have cost, on the fund for rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral, destroyed in the Great Fire of London, 1666. The list of contributions to this object contains the following record :

January 26th, 1684-5, Dr. Thomas Ken, }  
Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in lieu } 100*l*.  
of his consecration dinner and gloves, }

Dr. Ken was also a contributor of £30 towards building the new school-room at Winchester. He also presented £30, and a number of valuable books, to the College Library. He was throughout his life so liberal a giver, that his biographer has to defend him from the charge of having wasted his handsome income. "If any," he says, "should imagine that he was given to extravagance, in that having enjoyed such preferments he was still poor, it may be observed that, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was such in that most excellent gift of charity. His whole fortune lying in his preferments, those of his relations who were necessitous (but whom he could never regard the less for being so), were a continual drain upon his revenue, and he seemed to joy with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at liberty to disperse the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers, which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the daughters of affliction."

## CHAPTER IX.

KING CHARLES' REGARD FOR BISHOP KEN—HIS LAST SUNDAY—EVELYN'S DESCRIPTION—THE KING'S SICKNESS—DECLINES THE COMMUNION AND RECEIVES EXTREME UNCTION—ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND—WELLS CATHEDRAL—BATH—THE GROTTO AT WELLS—HORACE—"THE PRACTICE OF DIVINE LOVE"—CHURCH TRAINING.

CHARLES, as we have seen, had taken a personal interest in the promotion of his chaplain. He had expedited as far as he could the necessary legal formalities attending his appointment. His conduct towards Dr. Ken certainly appears as a redeeming point in his career. His life affords few such bright spots. He had gone on, a careless spendthrift of the national honor and resources, and of his own body and soul. The culmination was reached on the night of this very Sunday. Few things in history are more startling and solemn than Evelyn's picture of the monarch and his court on this holy day. The thing was not done in a corner ; it was in

the banquetting-room of the royal palace of Whitehall. "I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the king in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before seen—luxurious dallying, and profaneness."

Looking back on the same scene a few days after, he continues, "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day seven-night I was witness of: the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, etc.; a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen, who were with me, made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, all was in the dust."

The King was seized, a few hours after this scene of revelry, with an apoplectic fit. His chaplains were summoned to his bedside. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, were soon in attendance with Bishop Ken. The

last named, having always been a favorite with the monarch, took the lead. He remained for three days and nights without intermission at the royal bedside, urging the dying man to repentance. The King expressed sorrow for his sin, dismissed, at the Bishop's request, one of the favorite companions of his guilty moments, begged forgiveness of those whom he had offended, but on various pretexts postponed the reception of the Sacrament. Some excuse was made, whereby the Bishops, with others in attendance, were withdrawn from the room for half an hour. During the interval, as was afterwards ascertained, Father Huddleston, a Roman Catholic priest, was secretly introduced, and, the King declaring "that he desired to die in the faith and communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church," administered Extreme Unction. The Bishops returned, and Ken renewed his urgent entreaties, but without effect.

The Duke of York succeeded to his brother's crown, with the title of James II. Bishop Ken's close attendance at the late monarch's death-bed had prevented his compliance with the legal forms requisite for his reception of

his official revenues, and the King's signature being essential, new papers had to be drawn up. These were promptly prepared and signed, and the Bishop instituted in his Cathedral Church at Wells.

This place is situated in one of the most beautiful portions of England. Its pleasant name is derived from a bountiful fountain whose waters fill the moat surrounding the walls of the palace grounds, and thence pass through the town. The Cathedral close is entered by a gateway at the end of the main street. It forms, with the adjoining buildings, one of the most beautiful architectural groups in the world. The exquisite interior of the sacred edifice more than fulfils its external promise. It has of late years been carefully restored.

Bath, the companion city of the Diocese, is but a few miles distant. It boasts a noble Abbey Church, but in our Bishop's time had little other claim to distinction. The mineral waters, whose repute, combined with a singularly picturesque natural position, has built up many long streets and terraces of stately stone mansions, were then first coming into vogue. The few sick folk, however, who

at that early day resorted to the healing waters, made but little impression upon the quiet town.

A terraced path within, and nearly on a level with the wall surrounding the palace at Wells, commanding a full view of the gardens, the town, and surrounding country, still remains in the same condition as in Bishop Ken's day. It is terminated at either end by a stone grotto, built in an angle of the wall, and overgrown with ivy. One of these has its portal inscribed with the following passage from Horace, intimating its pleasantness above all other places to the occupant :

" Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes  
Angulus ridet," etc., etc.      *Lib. II., Od. 6.*

There is no evidence that the inscription was the work of Bishop Ken, but the sentiment is in harmony with his modest love of retirement. We know him also, like most scholars, to have been a lover of Horace, as we meet in his poems a few paraphrases of the Odes.

We find the Bishop, with his wonted zeal, adding other labors to those imposed by his official station. Before the first year of his Episcopate had expired he had prepared for



the press "The Practice of Divine Love," being an exposition of the Church Catechism. It is a small volume of devotional reflections and exercises, suggested by the Catechism, as it is passed in minute review from beginning to end, breathing throughout the most ardent piety and glowing eloquence. We may well use the word breathing, for the style seems truly alive. It is as if we stood at the shut closet door, listening to the outpouring heart within. The dedication seeks no high-born, high-placed patron: "To the Inhabitants within the Diocese of Bath and Wells, Thomas, their unworthy Bishop, wisheth the knowledge and the love of God." It inculcates the importance of Christian education. "I most heartily beg of you all," he says, "whether old or young, that ye would help me to save your own souls." Church training must commence with tender years: "I exhort all you who are parents, to instil good things into your children as soon as ever they begin to speak; let the first words they utter, if it be possible, be these, 'Glory be to God;' accustom them to repeat these words on their knees as soon as they rise, and when they go to bed, and oft-times in the day; and let them

not eat or drink without saying, 'Glory be to God.'

"Be sure," he wisely says, "to teach your children with all the sweetness and gentleness you can, lest if you should be severe or should overtask them, religion should seem to them rather a burden than a blessing."

He urges a knowledge of the Catechism upon all, whether young or old.

"God forbid you should ever think yourselves too old to learn to serve God, and to be saved, both which are taught in the Catechism, and therefore the Catechism is of necessity to be learned; for how can you go to heaven if you never learned the way thither? How can you be saved if you do not know your Saviour?"

"It is a great error to think that the Catechism was made for children only; for all Christians are equally concerned in those saving truths which are there taught; and the doctrine delivered in the Catechism is as proper for the study, and as necessary for the salvation, of a great doctor, as of a weak Christian or a young child."

## CHAPTER X.

BISHOP KEN'S LENT SERMON—DANIEL, "THE MAN GREATLY BELOVED"—LENT—THE EXAMPLE OF DANIEL—NOTHING STABLE BUT VIRTUE.

BISHOP KEN was about sending this work to the printer when he was summoned to London to preach his Lent sermon at Whitehall. He chose for his subject the character of Daniel. The discourse has fortunately been preserved, and ranks among the highest efforts of the English pulpit.

He regards Daniel as the model of a courtier and statesman, and in his elaborate analysis of his character has constant reference to the obligations imposed upon his titled hearers by the events of the passing hour. These, as we shall soon see, were weighty and important.

We select, as specimens of his discourse, two passages, not as the very best, but as the best fitted for extract, each being complete in itself.

“What is Lent, in its original institution, but a spiritual conflict to subdue the flesh to the spirit, to beat down our bodies, and to bring them into subjection? What is it but a penitential martyrdom for so many weeks together, which we suffer for our own and other sins? A devout soul, that is able duly to observe it, fastens himself to the cross on Ash-Wednesday, and hangs crucified by contrition all the Lent long; that, having felt in his closet the burthen and the anguish, the nails and the thorns, and tasted the gall of his own sins, he may, by his own crucifixion, be better disposed to be crucified with Christ on Good Friday, and most tenderly sympathize with all the dolours, and pressures, and anguish, and torments, and desertion, infinite, unknown, and unspeakable, which God incarnate endured, when he bled upon the cross for the sins of the world; that being purified by repentance, and made conformable to Christ crucified,\* he may offer up a pure oblation at Easter, and feel the power and the joys, and the triumph of his Saviour’s resurrection.     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*

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° Phil. iii. 10.

“ You have seen Daniel—one royally descended—an instance of the greatest, both courtier and favorite and minister, that ever was ; who was all three to no less than five monarchs, and in three several monarchies of the world ; one that kept his station in the greatest revolutions that ever were, under all the disadvantages imaginable, of captive, and stranger, and Jew, for about ninety years together ; one who, to all his other characters, added that of the ascetic and the saint, all which made him greatly beloved—greatly beloved by God, at whose glory he ever aimed ; greatly beloved by all those kings whom he faithfully served ; greatly beloved by the people, whose good he studied. You have seen how love was reciprocal, how Daniel greatly loved the king and the people ; and this was the secret he had, which naturally attracted so universal a love. A secret that is neither too mysterious for your comprehension, nor too heroic for your imitation—a secret of a certain and approved virtue. For goodness is awful and amiable to all mankind, and has charms that are irresistible. There is a powerful sweetness, a propitious obligingness, such effusions and irradiations

of divinity in it, which commands our affections, and are able to overcome all our aversions ; and I am confident that there is no one here, but if he would make the experiment, would find a proportionable success.

“ Let me then exhort, let me beseech you, to consider all the attractives of the divine love, till God’s sovereign love inflame you, and you habitually breathe his praises. Learn, like Daniel, humility by affliction, purity by temperance ; to keep your graces alive by prayer, and frequenting your oratory ; to subdue rebellious nature by fasting and mortification. Learn from Daniel a universal obligingness and benignity, an awful love to your prince, a constant fidelity, an undaunted courage, an unwearied zeal in serving him. Learn from Daniel an equal mixture of the wisdom of the serpent and of the innocence of the dove, an inoffensive conversation, a clean integrity, and an impartial justice to all within your sphere.

“ Learn from the man greatly beloved to reconcile policy and religion, business and devotion, abstinence and abundance, greatness and goodness, magnanimity and humility, power and subjection, authority and affability,

conversation and retirement, interest and integrity, heaven and the court, the favor of God and the favor of the king, and you are masters of Daniel's secret; you will secure yourselves a universal and lasting interest; you will, like him, be greatly beloved both by God and man.

“For when we have in vain tried all other methods, there is nothing stable but virtue; nothing that can keep us steady in all revolutions, but the love of God; and when the worldly wise men, and the mighty, fall by their own weakness, or moulder by the decays of time, or wear out of fashion, or are overwhelmed by a deluge of envy, or are blown away by the breath of God's displeasure, or when the world, of its own accord, frowns and forsakes them, and their name and memory perish, the man that loves God is still the same; God whom he loves is still the same; with him is no variableness nor shadow of turning; his incentives are still the same, infinite philanthropy, loving kindness and amiableness; his end is still the same, the glory of his beloved; his duty is still the same, and has a goodness essential and unchangeable; his retreat to a peaceful con-


science is still the same ; his assistances have still the same sweet force ; his ambition, the same heavenly prospect ; his designs and affections, and resolutions have still the same centre ; his will is in the disposal of the same gracious Providence ; his very afflictions meet in the same point with his prosperity, and both work together for his good. Search now, and see if over the whole universe you can find a place of rest, a steady happiness in anything, but in the love of God, and you will return with Solomon's account, ' All here below is vanity and vexation of spirit.' For this world is founded upon the seas and established on the floods, the very foundation of it is laid in mutability. But he that loves God, and trusts in his beloved, is like Mount Zion, that cannot be removed, but stands fast forever ; he is built on the rock of ages, he stands firm on a height that has no precipice, and is above all assaults, and is in eternal security. For what, or who, shall separate a resolute lover from the love of Christ ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, etc.

"But alas, when we frail creatures have done all we can, it is impossible for us to love God so as he is worthy to be beloved, so as to sat-



isfy ourselves we love him enough. No holy person can love God to that degree but he passionately desires to love him much more; and through the unavoidable weakness of lapsed nature, the best of men do often fail in their duty, and are reduced to bare desires only. Love no sooner begins to offer up a sacrifice to our beloved, but the fire is apt to go out; and nothing, many times, but the dying embers of languid desires remain on the altar. And this is suitable to the name the angel gives to Daniel, when he styles him a man of desires; it is the proper description of a good man here on earth, that he is a man of desires. For this world is the region of want, and consequently of desires; and happy is the man who being first greatly beloved by God, to his power, loves God again; and out of that motive of divine love, earnestly desires, like Daniel, to oblige, and help, and relieve, and serve, and pray for all mankind, as bearing the image of his beloved; but above all, to have a reverential and zealous love for his prince, who more immediately represents, and resembles, God his beloved.

“O may every soul here present, live and



die this happy lover, thus greatly beloved by men, if it be the divine will; but above all, thus greatly beloved by God; 'to whom with the Son, and Holy Spirit, be glory,' etc.

## CHAPTER XI.

CORONATION OF JAMES II. — HIS CONDUCT RESPECTING  
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND — THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH  
— HIS CONDUCT TO HIS FATHER — THE RYE HOUSE  
PLOT — INVADES ENGLAND — SEDGEMOOR — BISHOP  
MEW'S SERVICES IN THE BATTLE — FEVERSHAM'S BRU-  
TALITY — BISHOP KEN INTERCEDES FOR MEROY — THE  
KING'S APPROVAL — THE BISHOP'S KINDNESS TO THE  
PRISONERS.

SOON after the delivery of this excellent discourse, Bishop Ken was again called to London, to take part in the ceremonies of the King's coronation, on St. George's Day, April 23, 1685. The services had been arranged and the Communion omitted, by Archbishop Sancroft, to avoid offence as far as possible to the Roman Catholic views of the monarch. Dr. Ken, although the junior Bishop, was selected by James to take the place by his side in the procession, and at the services in Westminster Abbey. His old friend Turner, Bishop of Ely, preached the coronation sermon.


James the Second had publicly avowed

himself a Roman Catholic during the reign of his brother Charles. His course had caused great public dissatisfaction, and a proposal had been made in Parliament to exclude him for this reason from the succession. It had failed, his brother had died, and he was now in possession. In his address to Parliament soon after his coronation, he pledged himself to support and defend the Church of England. The declaration was received with joy by the assembly, an address in reply was responded to with great cordiality, and the new reign seemed prosperously inaugurated, when intelligence was received that the Duke of Monmouth had landed at Lynne, in Dorsetshire, and raised the standard of rebellion. Parliament immediately passed a bill of attainder against the offender, offered a reward of £5,000 for his capture, and voted £400,000 to the King for the public service. They then adjourned to oppose the rebellion in their several districts. Ken, who had sat in the House of Lords by virtue of his office, returned to his Diocese—a portion of the district selected by the malcontents for their operations.

The Duke of Monmouth was the eldest son of Charles II. and Lucy Walters. He was

born at Rotterdam, ten years before the Restoration. Charles was no sooner settled on his throne than he sent for this his favorite son. He was constantly in his society, and received every dignity and emolument in his father's gift. His titles alone would fill a page of our record. He obtained, by his father's means, the hand of the beautiful Duchess of Buccleugh, the richest heiress in the kingdom, then but sixteen years of age. Monmouth was comely in appearance, graceful and winning in his manners, but endowed with little mental force. He was vain and dissolute. He possessed much personal popularity, and was known as "the Protestant Duke." He was involved in plots to lay claim to the succession, on the pretext of the secret marriage of his parents, so that his father was finally obliged to sign a declaration "that he never gave, nor made, any contract of marriage whatsoever, but to her present majesty Queen Catherine, now living."

Unabashed by this full denial of his claims, Monmouth persisted for three years in his treasonable practices. He was received in many parts of the country with acclamation. Thus encouraged, he was finally in-



volved in the movement known as the Rye House Plot. His father was compelled to denounce him in a proclamation, read in all the churches, as "having joined in a treasonable conspiracy against his sacred person and government." On the failure of the plot, he betrayed his associates, and abjectly besought forgiveness, vowing never more to oppose his uncle. He signed a statement to this effect. Soon ascertaining how low he had fallen in public esteem by his base act, he sought the King and persuaded him to give up the document recently signed. No sooner was it obtained, than he publicly denied having offered or made any confession or submission. The King, justly offended, banished him from his sight. He retired to Holland, and never again beheld his wronged parent.

James, immediately after his accession, sought through his allies to have his dangerous rival sent a prisoner to England. William of Orange would not arrest Monmouth, but to avoid cause of quarrel, ordered him to leave the state. He went to Belgium, but was ordered thence also by the Spanish government. As he was sure of being arrested in France, Louis XIV., being the close ally

of James, he yielded in his desperation to the urgency of a few disaffected noblemen, and invaded England.

He published a proclamation on his landing, asserting himself the rightful heir to the throne, and advancing as far as Bristol and Bath, collected some five thousand recruits, without arms or means of sustenance. The popular disgust to Popery led to demonstrations of enthusiasm on the line of march which deceived and emboldened the invader. He published a second address, in which he proclaimed himself King, denounced Parliament, and set a price on his uncle's head. This rash and unnecessary act alienated many who were secretly inclined to support the enterprise. His cause was impaired also by the delay and uncertainty of his movements. His undisciplined forces were finally met and utterly routed by the King's army, under Lord Feversham, on the 6th of July, at Sedgemoor.

Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, was an active combatant on the royal side during the hotly contested action. He had fought for Charles I., in 1642, and afterwards in Scotland, for Charles II. He had also served un-

der the Duke of York in Flanders. He rendered an essential service at a critical moment by using his coach-horses to draw a portion of the artillery to a more favorable position. He displayed a nobler quality than bravery, by his compassion after the battle, for the defeated enemy. A great number of prisoners were taken. They were, by Feversham's orders, tied hand to hand, and thus marched along. On approaching a sign-post crossing the road, the brutal commander, unable to resist the temptation of a gallows made to hand, ordered five of these unfortunates to be hung thereon. The men were for the time saved, and the dull-pated master restrained, by the good Bishop's expostulation, "My lord, this is murder in law. These poor wretches, now the battle is over, must be tried before they are put to death."

This good action has been credited to Bishop Ken, but the weight of historic testimony is, we think, in favor of Mews. Ken was, however, immediately active in the same good cause. His Diocese had been the seat of war his beautiful cathedral had been desecrated by the rebels, and its leaden roof torn off to be moulded into bullets. He was an earnest



royalist, a personal friend of the monarch, but none of these considerations could weaken his pity for the vanquished.

Feversham soon extemporized law enough to gratify his cruelty. No less than seven hundred prisoners were in a brief period hung and executed. Their quartered corpses were set on poles along the highway in such numbers that travellers were driven from the roads by the natural results of decomposition.

Ken at once wrote earnestly to the King, setting forth these enormities, and remonstrating against their continuance.

Sir Thomas Cutler, the commander at Wells, united with Ken in his appeal to James. "Their request," we are told, "was granted without any signs of reluctance. The King afterwards meeting with Sir Thomas, thanked him for this intercession, expressed how agreeable it was to him, and wished that the like humanity had engaged others to act in the same way."\* No practical action on the part

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\* "Reflections on Dr. Burnet's Posthumous History," 8vo., 1728, p. 100, quoted by Dr. Routh in his 2d edition of Burnet's "History of the Reign of James II.," note, p. 78. "Life of Ken by a Layman," p. 283.

of the monarch seems, however, to have followed this remonstrance.

Bishop Ken devoted himself with his wonted energy and kindness to the welfare of the prisoners collected in his cathedral city, where a church had been converted, for the occasion, into a jail, and crowded with inmates. He daily visited these unfortunates, praying with them and relieving their necessities.

## CHAPTER XII.

MONMOUTH TAKEN—HIS BEHAVIOR DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT—INFATUATION RESPECTING HIS ERRORS—HIS EXECUTION—BISHOP KEN ACCUSED OF HARSHNESS—SCOTT AND MACAULAY'S OPINIONS—THE BLOODY ASSIZES—BISHOP KEN'S VISIT TO THE PRISONERS—MACAULAY'S EULOGY—A RETROSPECT.

MONMOUTH had escaped from the field of battle. He wandered in disguise for two days, suffering every privation, when he was found in a ditch, and recognized by the order of St. George on his person. Taken to London, he besought the King to see him. The request was granted, but the monarch turned a deaf ear to his abject entreaties for life, to his appeal as his brother's son, to his offer to abjure the Protestant faith. He sent for Bishop Ken to prepare the unfortunate man for death, one day only being granted for the solemn purpose.

Bishop Turner, Dr. Hooper, and, at Monmouth's request, Dr. Tenison, were also summoned.

Monmouth, finding all effort unavailing, recovered his composure. He expressed himself ready and willing to die, but could not be brought to a confession of the open and notorious sins of his private and public life.

He had for some years past deserted his wife and children for Lady Henrietta Wentworth, with whom he had lived in illicit intercourse. In these last hours, and even in his speech on the scaffold, he gloried in this act, declared that the lady had weaned him from careless profligacy to a constant and pure affection, and that they were united by a harmony superior to all moral law.

The clergymen were urgent with him to renounce his delusions, continuing their remonstrances as they accompanied him, at his request, to the scaffold. "God be praised," he exclaimed to the people, as he stood beside the block, "I die with a clear conscience; I have wronged no man." "How, sir," replied his spiritual monitors, "no man? have you not been guilty of invasion, and of much blood which has been shed? it may be the loss of many precious souls who followed you? You must needs have wronged a great many."

The remonstrance had a good effect. "I am sorry for invading the kingdom; for the blood that has been shed; and for the souls which may have been lost by my means; I am sorry it ever happened." This he spoke softly. They also induced him to declare his "repentance for all his sins, known and unknown, confessed or not confessed." Their charge thus brought to penitence, they gladly exclaimed, "God Almighty of His infinite mercy forgive you." "All went to solemn commendatory prayers, which continued for a good space; the Duke of Monmouth and the company kneeling and joining in them with great fervency." "During the preparations for his beheading, many pious ejaculations were used by those that assisted him, with great fervency, as: God accept your repentance: God accept your imperfect repentance: My Lord God accept your general repentance: God Almighty show his omnipotent mercy upon you: Father, into Thy hands we commend his spirit: Lord Jesus, receive his soul." Then the executioner proceeded to do his office.\*

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\* "Account of what passed at the execution of the late Duke of Monmouth," quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 298.

It has been necessary to quote this sad scene in detail from the contemporary record, not only as an exhibition of Bishop Ken's discharge of a most painful duty, but as the defence—the facts are the just man's best defence—from the charges of pertinacity and harshness brought by Bishop Burnet, and reiterated a century after by Mr. Fox, against Bishop Ken and his associates. Sir Walter Scott has stated and decided the question with brevity and justice, in a sentence quoted with approbation by Mr. Macaulay. "They have been accused of dealing harshly with the dying man, but they appear to have only discharged what in their view was a sacred duty."

Bishop Ken returned to his Diocese immediately after the execution. He found there an acquaintance whom he must have loathed to meet, his old ship-mate Kirke, who had been sent down at the head of troops to enforce the authority of Chief Justice Jeffries. Jeffries had already commenced his "Bloody Assizes." Kirke, at his entrance into Bridgewater, caused nineteen prisoners to be hung, without any inquiry respecting their guilt. He and his company caroused whilst looking

on at the death-struggle of his victims. As their feet quivered, he shouted that they should have music to dance by, and commanded the drums and trumpets to sound.

Jeffries was equally inhuman. He jested with his prisoners as he sentenced them to death, and afterwards boasted that he had hanged more men than all the judges in England since William the Conqueror. At Wells, three hundred and eighty-five were transported, and ninety-seven executed. Bishop Ken remonstrated with Jeffries, but without effect. He did all in his power to relieve the wretched prisoners crowded in this and the neighboring towns, passing constantly from prison to prison, comforting and providing as far as he could for the spiritual and temporal wants of the inmates. His conduct has been warmly eulogized by Mr. Macaulay. "The chief friend and protector of these unhappy men in their extremity was one who abhorred their religious and political opinions, one whose order they hated, and to whom they had done unprovoked wrong—Bishop Ken. That good prelate used all his influence to soften the jailers, and retrenched from his own episcopal state,



that he might be able to make some addition to the coarse and scanty fare of those who had defaced his beloved cathedral. His conduct on this occasion was of a piece with his whole life."\*

Ten years later, Bishop Ken had occasion to refer to his conduct at this period. He was complained of for relieving the non-juring clergy, and wished to show that relieving persons opposed to the government involved no participation in their plans. "My lords," he said to the Privy Council, "in King James's time there were about a thousand or more imprisoned in my Diocese, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion: and yet for all that I thought it my duty to relieve them. It is well known to the Diocese that I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supplied them with necessaries myself, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same."

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\* "History of England," I., 632, quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 298.



## CHAPTER XIII.

BATH — THE ABBEY CHURCH — ACCOMMODATION FOR VISITORS—GOLDSMITH—EVELYN—BISHOP KEN'S CARE FOR THE SICK—HIS "PRAYERS FOR THOSE WHO COME TO THE BATHS FOR CURE"—ADDRESS—RIVERS AND SPRINGS—THE USES OF ADVERSITY—A PRAYER IN TIME OF TRIAL.

THE good Bishop's "Practice of Divine Love" was published at this time, the *imprimatur* or license to print bearing date August 9, 1685. It was, as we have seen, designed for the instruction of the youth and unlearned adults of his Diocese. He was not less mindful of the "stranger within his gates;" a department of his duty more than usually extensive, as the city of Bath was much resorted to for the benefit of its healing waters.

Bath is now one of the most beautiful cities in England. Its long rows of solid stone mansions, ample streets, and elegant public buildings have been raised by the celebrity of its mineral springs, which made

it, for more than a century, the chief resort of the gay and fashionable.

Its healing fame runs far back to those early ages when history herself presents us only the nursery tales befitting her tender years. The Hospital of St. John the Baptist and a chapel had been founded as early as 1180, for the benefit of the sick and aged poor. It was the seat of an important Abbey, whose church still remains, one of the most beautiful monuments of the later Gothic in the world. With the exception of this edifice, Bath, at the time of which we write, could boast of little architectural beauty. The streets were narrow and dirty, the houses cramped and mean. Goldsmith, describing the place thirty years later, gives us a humorous picture of the accommodations offered to the health or pleasure-hunting "nobility and gentry."

"The lodgings for visitants were paltry, though expensive; the dining-rooms and other chambers were floored with boards, colored brown with soot and small beer, to hide the dirt; the walls were covered with unpainted wainscot; the furniture corresponded with the meanness of the architecture; a few

oak chairs, a small looking-glass, with a fender and tongs, composed the magnificence of these temporary habitations.”\*

Evelyn, writing in the reign of Charles II. of a visit to Bath, speaks of “the idle diversions of the town, where we trifled, and bathed, and intervisited with the company, who frequent the place for health.” The Bishop was desirous that these invalid visitors, rich as well as poor, should derive spiritual as well as temporal benefit from their sojourn. With this view he published a tract entitled “Prayers, for the Use of All Persons who come to the Baths for Cure.” It opens with his wonted energy and beauty :

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

Thomas, unworthy Bishop of Bath and Wells, to all Persons who come to the Baths for Cure, wisheth from God the Blessings of this Life, and of the Next.

GOOD CHRISTIAN BROTHER OR SISTER,

Whatsoever the calamity be, whether sickness, or lameness, or want of children, which brings you to this place, I am sensible how tender a regard I ought to have for you,

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\* “Life of Nash.”

since you are come within my fold, in imitation of our most merciful Redeemer, who, in respect even of our bodily distempers, sympathized with our miseries, “ bore our griefs, and carried our sorrows.” \*

For this reason I could not satisfy myself in only praying for you, as I daily do, unless I did also send you these directions and prayers, which are few, and short, and familiar, to comply with the infirmities of your condition, and which I hope, by God’s blessing, may be “ words spoken in season :” nor can I doubt, but that all of you who want such helps will seriously peruse them, and observe the advices of your spiritual physicians, as you are wont to do those of your corporal.

Do not think the baths can do you any good, without God’s immediate blessing on them, for it is God that must first heal the waters, before they can have any virtue to heal you.

The river Jordan could never have cleansed Naaman of his leprosy, had he washed himself in it seventy times seven times, had not

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\* Isaiah liii. 4 ; Matthew viii. 17.

God blessed it to his cleansing. The pool of Siloam could never have restored sight to one born blind, had not our Lord sent him to it. And the pool of Bethesda could never have made sick persons whole, but that an angel was sent by God "to trouble the waters."

I cannot then do better than to send you to that angel, who, according to St. John, flies in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth, saying with a loud voice, "Fear God, and give glory to Him, and worship Him, that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."

This was the angel's sermon, and I beseech you to become his auditors, and to observe how, after the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, he particularly mentions the springs or fountains of waters, as a very wonderful part of the creation: for out of the dark places of the earth, through passages, and from causes unknown to the search of the wisest of men, God makes sweet and fresh springs to rise, to water the earth, to give drink to every beast of the field, and to supply all the necessities of human life, and springs of different kinds,

some to allay our thirst, some to cure our diseases.

Look therefore on the bath as a very admirable and propitious work of Divine Providence, designed for the good of a great number of infirm persons, as well as for yourself. Praise and adore God, who has signally manifested His power, and His mercy, in creating so universal a good; and the first thing you do when you are come to this place, “worship God who made the fountain.”

The prayers and exhortations which follow are pervaded with the purest spirit of devotion, combined with practical good sense.

“Your very bodily distemper,” he tells the sick man, “will present you with a lively idea of your sins, and Holy Scripture makes use of the former to picture out to us the latter. Think then of the weakness, and the pain, and the indisposedness, and the restlessness, and the danger that afflict the sick man, and compare them with that impotence to good, that anguish of a wounded spirit, that universal indisposedness to duty, that restlessness of conscience, those horrors of eternal torments, which attend the sinner, and

which, without repentance, are for ever incurable ; and make this reflection with yourself, that if we are so very solicitous for the cure of our bodies, much more ought we to be solicitous for the cure of our souls."

We select a specimen of the devotional exercises from "A Prayer for Amendment when God is pleased to try us."

"I humbly beg of Thee, O merciful Father, that this affliction may strengthen my faith, which Thou sawest was growing weak : fix my hope which was staggering, quicken my devotion which was languishing, unite me to my first love which I was forsaking, rekindle my charity which was cooling, revive my zeal which was dying, confirm my obedience which was wavering, recover my patience which was fainting, mortify my pride which was presuming, and perfect my repentance which was daily decaying : for all these and the like infirmities, to which my soul is exposed, O make this affliction my cure.

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"O my Father, if it be Thy blessed will the waters should not be effectual to me, make them effectual to all other infirm persons besides : I will rejoice in Thy goodness

for removing their affliction, I will acquiesce in Thy goodness for continuing mine.”


He enforces upon rich visitors the duty of providing for their poor brother pilgrims, and upon the poor a thankful gratitude for the alms they receive. He had frequently exercised the charity he thus recommends by supporting some poor patient during a sojourn at the place.



## CHAPTER XIV.

RULES REGARDING ORDINATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS —  
ATTENDANCE AT PARLIAMENT — DIOCESAN LABORS  
— REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES — FRENCH EMI-  
GRANTS IN ENGLAND — COLLECTIONS FOR THEIR BENE-  
FIT — BISHOP KEN'S SERMON — ADDRESS TO HIS CLERGY  
— HIS CHARITIES — SUNDAY DINNERS — ROME AND  
SEVILLE.

BISHOP KEN also took part at this time in drawing up, with Archbishop Sancroft, and Bishops Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, and Lloyd of St. Asaph, "Articles for the better regulations of Ordinations and Institutions, and other admissions to Cure of Souls, into which much abuse and uncanonical practices have lately crept." They mutually agreed that these articles, ten in number, should be their guide respecting candidates for Orders, "to the end that there may be sufficient moral assurance to the Bishop, by competent witnesses, of the good life and conversation of the persons to be ordained for full three years last past." The



correspondence between the prelates which has been preserved shows the care with which these rules were observed by all the parties.

Bishop Ken was attentive to his parliamentary duties. He was present in the House of Lords on the 4th of August. The session lasted but one day, Parliament adjourning to the 9th of November. The Bishop attended again at that time, but the King, finding the members much dissatisfied with his employment of Roman Catholics in the army, on the 20th again prorogued the assembly to the 10th of February, and never after permitted it to meet. The Bishop returned to his Diocese, and again devoted himself with his usual fidelity to his duties. In addition to his Confirmation and Cathedral services, "in the summer time he went about to the large parish churches, where he would preach twice, and catechize the children. His revenues were almost entirely devoted to the relief of the needy, and he exerted himself among the leading persons of the district to establish a workhouse for the poor of Wells, who were very numerous." "In this," says his biographer, Hawkins, "he had a double

view : to rescue the idle from vicious practice and conversation, and the industrious from the oppression of the tradesmen, who, to use his own expression, did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labor, and making them a very scanty allowance for their work."

On the 18th of October of the same year the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes excited the sympathies of the Protestant world. The deprivation of the toleration enjoyed for nearly a century, and the relentless persecution which immediately ensued, drove thousands of the best population of France into exile. It supplied the English towns with skilful workmen, and the English colonies with industrious and intelligent settlers, and in the end inflicted a long and severe punishment on the inhuman and bigot-ridden mother country and its corrupt church. As France forbade the emigration of these persons, they had to depart by stealth, leaving in many instances their entire property behind them.

England received the exiles with her wonted hospitality. Public sympathy was so strongly expressed, that the King, though

secretly sympathizing with the French tyrant, was at length compelled to issue his letters-patent to the Bishops for a general collection for these needy strangers.

The permission was given grudgingly, as the clergy were commanded by the King simply to read the notice, and not presume to preach on the sufferings of the exiles. The official brief was read in all the churches on the 29th of March, 1686.

Bishop Ken's compassionate heart had been so strongly moved, that he took the opportunity of his appointment as Lent preacher on the 14th of the same month to plead boldly the cause of the persecuted in the royal chapel. Evelyn furnishes an account of the sermon.

"14th.—The Bishop of Bath and Wells preached on John vi. 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse; after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This sermon was the more acceptable as it was unexpected from a bishop who had undergone the censure of

being inclined to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could show more."

Immediately after the receipt of the brief, the Bishop issued an admirable appeal to his clergy. After mentioning the royal orders, he says :

"I think it my duty with my utmost zeal to further so God-like a charity, and I do, therefore, strictly enjoin you, that you most *affectionately and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up all under your care, to contribute freely and cheerfully to the relief of these distressed Christians*, and to do it with as well-timed an expedition as you can. And that his Majesty's royal goodness may have its full effect, I beseech you, for the love of God, to be exemplarily liberal towards them yourself, according to your ability, remembering how blessed a thing it is to be brotherly kind to strangers, to Christian strangers, especially such as those whose distress is very great, and is in all respects most worthy of our tenderest commiseration ; and how our most adorable Redeemer does interpret, and does proportionably reward, all the good we do to them as done to himself. God of his infinite mercy inspire this fraternal charity into your

own soul, and into the souls of all your parish.

“Your affectionate friend and brother,

“THO. BATH AND WELLS.

“WELLS, *April 15, 1686.*”

Occasion gave him the opportunity of enforcing his precepts by a noble example. “Having received,” says Hawkins, “a fine of *four thousand pounds*, great part of it was given to the French Protestants.”

The appeal was generously responded to throughout the country. The collections amounted to forty-two thousand pounds, and large sums were contributed for many years after to the same cause.

The great public subscription did not divert the constant flow of the Bishop’s private charities. He wisely combined instruction with relief. “He had,” says Hawkins, “a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether he could say the Lord’s Prayer or Creed.” “Other givings,” happily remarks George Herbert of a like union, “are lay and secular, but this is to give like a priest.” He also surrounded his charities with the genial asso-

ciations of household hospitality. "When he was at home on Sundays, he would have twelve poor men or women to dine with him in his hall; always endeavoring, whilst he fed their bodies, to comfort their spirits by some cheerful discourse, generally mixt with some useful instruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them to carry home to their families."\*

We need not remind our readers of the divine injunction thus literally fulfilled. We trust that the reverent love shown by the Bishop in the number as well as the rank of his guests will not escape notice. It has been our good fortune to look on while Pope and Cardinals, in the pomp of office, and before a crowded auditory, exercised a like hospitality. We have witnessed, in a scarcely less celebrated city, similar rites performed by the Infanta of proud Spain. But in both cases the feast was a Barmecide banquet. The courses came and went untasted. It was a ceremony, not a charity. How much nearer the divine pattern, how much nearer the warm human heart, seems our good Bishop's

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\* Hawkins' "Life of Ken."

unostentatious Sunday dinner! It is pleasant to read after this, as we may in the "Life of Ken by a Layman," that this ancient hall still remains as in those genial times, while on its walls "hangs a portrait of the good Bishop, with the benignant smile that beamed from his countenance when he sat in cheerful discourse with his aged guests."



## CHAPTER XV.

BISHOP KEN CHARGED WITH POPERY—MODIFIES HIS LANGUAGE TO AVOID MISCONSTRUCTION—THE PARALLEL PASSAGES — LENT PASTORAL — THE GREATEST SAINTS THE GREATEST MOURNERS—KING JAMES BREAKS FAITH WITH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—FAVOR SHOWN TO ROMAN CATHOLICS—ECCLESIASTICAL COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION—THE CLERGY FORBIDDEN TO PREACH AGAINST ROMANISM.

IN 1686 Bishop Ken published a second edition of "The Practice of Divine Love." Some "Popish pamphlet" had claimed him as a Romanist from a passage on the Eucharist in the first edition of this work. He gives a significant proof of his desire to avoid controversy, as well as of the injustice of the charge, in the following addition to the original preface.

"The author thinks himself obliged to declare, that he does now, and always did, humbly submit this Exposition to the judgment of the Church of England, conformably to whose articles he desires all good Christians to interpret it; and to prevent all mis-

understandings for the future, he has, in his revising it, made some few little alterations, not at all varying his meaning, but his expressions, to render the whole as unexceptionable as becomes a book, not designed for dispute, but for devotion."

The subject can be most intelligently and briefly disposed of by quoting the passage referred to in its original and amended form.

## FIRST EDITION, 1685.

O God Incarnate, how Thou canst "give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink;" how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh and drinketh Thy Blood dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal; how Thou, who art in Heaven, art present on the Altar; I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy love, and on Thy Omnipotence, to make good Thy word, though the means of doing it I cannot comprehend.

## SECOND EDITION, 1686.

O God Incarnate, how the bread and the wine, unchanged in their substance, become Thy Body and Thy Blood; after what extraordinary manner Thou, who art in Heaven, art present throughout the whole sacramental action to every devout receiver; how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh and drinketh Thy Blood, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal, I can by no means comprehend; but I firmly believe all Thou hast said, and I firmly rely on Thy Omnipotent love to make good Thy word; for which all love, all glory be to Thee.

The Bishop's next publication was "A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to his Clergy, concerning their Behaviour during Lent," dated "From the Palace in Wells, Feb. 17, 1687." The concluding sentences are among its most eloquent portions and bear testimony to his firm attachment to the Church of England.

"No one can read God's holy word but he will see that the greatest saints have been the greatest mourners; David 'wept whole rivers;'\* Jeremy 'wept sore, and his eyes ran down in secret places day and night, like a fountain;'+ Daniel 'mourned three full weeks, and did eat no pleasant bread, and sought God by prayers and supplications, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes;'+ St. Paul was humbled, and bewailed and wept for the sins of others;§ and our Lord himself when He 'beheld the city wept over it.'|| Learn, then, of these great saints, learn of our most compassionate Saviour, to weep for the public, and weeping to pray that 'we may know in

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\* Psalm cxix. 136.

† Jer. xi. 1; xiii. 17.

‡ Dan. ix. 3; x. 2.

§ 2 Cor. xii. 21; Phil. iii. 18.

|| Luke xix. 41.

this our day, the things that belong to our peace, lest they be hid from our eyes.' To mourn for national guilt in which all share, is a duty incumbent on all, but especially on priests, who are particularly commanded 'to weep and to say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach, that God may repent of the evil and become jealous for his land and pity his people.'\* Be assured that none are more tenderly regarded by God than such mourners as these; there is 'a mark'† set by him on 'all that sigh and cry for the abominations of the land,' the destroying angel is forbid to 'hurt any of them;' they are all God's peculiar care, and shall all have either present deliverance, or such supports and consolations as shall abundantly endear their calamity. 'Now the God of all grace, who hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you' in the true Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed in the Church of England, and enable you to adorn that apostolic faith with an apostolic example and zeal, and give all our whole

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° Joel ii. 17, 18.

† Ezek. ix. 4.

Church that timely repentance, these broken and contrite hearts, that both priests and people may all plentifully sow in tears, and in God's good time may all plentifully reap in joy."

The Bishop's desponding tone respecting the Established Church was called forth by the determined endeavors of King James again to establish Roman Catholicism as the dominant faith in his dominions. Although he had taken an oath at his coronation to the Bishops "to grant and preserve unto us, and the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice," his first act after the ceremony had been to repeal in Scotland all "laws, statutes, or acts of Parliament" against the Romanists, and in Ireland to dismiss all Protestant officers, chaplains, and soldiers, and fill their places with those of his own faith. The Judges were dispensed from the oath of supremacy, the Privy Council and corporations filled with Roman Catholics.

The monarch was obliged in England to proceed more slowly. His great object was to procure the repeal of the acts requiring an abjuration of the Pope's supremacy from all

officers of the state. "Most of the Parliament men (members) were spoken to in his Majesty's closet, and such as refused, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. Hardly one of them dissented." Roman Catholic bishops, under the title of "Vicars Apostolical," were publicly consecrated in the royal chapel. A Nuncio from the Pope, the first who had appeared in England since the Reformation, was received at court.

An Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, composed of seven members, with the infamous Judge Jeffries as permanent president, was established "with unlimited powers to reform all abuses, contempts, and offences of whatever nature, to cite before them ecclesiastical persons of every degree and dignity, and to censure, suspend, or deprive them without appeal; and further to alter the statutes of the Universities, and all other corporations, civil and religious."\* Clergy and laity naturally regarded this inquisitorial tribunal with dread and aversion.

The King also issued an order to the

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\* "Life of Ken," p. 347.

Bishops to forbid the clergy from preaching on Romanism. The prelates disregarded the injunction and prepared to defend themselves when called before the commission. These arbitrary measures were accompanied and rendered still more offensive to the clergy and the people by an ostentatious public celebration of mass in the King's chapel.

## CHAPTER XVI.

BISHOP KEN'S SERMON AT WHITEHALL — EVELYN'S DESCRIPTION—BISHOP TRELAWNEY'S LETTER—BISHOP KEN A POPULAR PREACHER—HIS POWERFUL VOICE—REPEAL OF THE OATH AND TEST ACTS—PRETENDED SYMPATHY WITH DISSENTERS—JESUIT COMMENTS ON BISHOP KEN'S SERMON ON THE REAL PRESENCE—PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

**D**URING the ferment naturally produced by these measures, Bishop Ken was called to preach, on the fifth Sunday in Lent following the publication of his pastoral letter, before the court at the royal palace of Whitehall. His text was a part of the gospel for the day: "Which of you convinceth me of sin, and if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?—*St. John* viii. 46. The sermon has not been preserved, but we find from the account given by Evelyn that it grappled boldly with threatening dangers.

"He described through his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit



of persecution, superstition, legends, and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish priests and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written Word, and to persevere in the faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine, for Catholic soundness, he preferred to all the Communities and Churches of Christians in the world; concluding with a kind of prophecy, that, whatever it suffered, it should after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries and the glory of God.\*

The sermon was delivered "before the Princess of Denmark (afterwards Queen Anne) and a great crowd of people, and at least thirty of the greatest nobility."

Bishop Ken returned immediately to his Diocese, although engaged to preach at St. Martin's on the following Sunday. He visited during the week his friend Trelawney, the Bishop of Bristol, and carried from him a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It shows the determined spirit of the writer to

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\* Quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 358.

resist, in common with his brother Bishops, the royal encroachments. "I am not wanting," he says, "in my prayers for the preservation of our threatened Church, and in my best exhortations for the keeping this City very firm to its establishment: and I thank God, hitherto all the designs of addresses and other prejudices have fallen like water upon oil-cloth, smoothly received, and going off without making any impression. I'll do all I can to keep the priests hence; no courage shall be wanting; and if I err in prudence and conduct, it must be your Grace's and my orders' fault, in not helping me with directions, having resolutions entirely fixed not to do anything which may reflect on the interest or honor of our Church, in which, as I had the blessing of initiation by the baptism of water, I am ready to go out of it with the other of blood."

Bishop Ken was at his post at St. Martin's on Palm Sunday. We are again indebted to Evelyn for our only account of the sermon.

"The Bishop of Bath and Wells preached at St. Martin's to a crowd of people not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher; the text was

S. Matt. xxvi. 36 to verse 40, describing the bitterness of our blessed Saviour's agony, the ardor of His love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate His patience and resignation, the means by watching against temptations and over ourselves, with fervent prayer to attain it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most pathetical discourses. The Communion followed, at which I was participant. I afterwards dined at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop, and that young, most learned, and pious, and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake."

It was well for the cause of the Church of England that one of her most prominent champions was the most celebrated pulpit orator of his day. King James pronounced him "the best preacher among the Protestants." The Princess Anne wrote to Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, at whose palace near Holborn Dr. Ken usually passed his time in London, "to let some place be kept for me where I may hear well, and be the least taken notice of," at his chapel, when the Bishop was expected to preach. She attended at the Abbey church, when at Bath, for the same purpose.

Crowded congregations constantly gave a popular sanction to these royal compliments. How great soever the concourse, all could be gratified, for the Bishop, in addition to his other oratorical qualifications, possessed a powerful voice. The fact that he could be heard distinctly throughout the Abbey has been handed down by tradition ; and “Mr. Joseph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureate” (not the most tuneful incumbent of the malmsey endowed office), informs us, in a poem “both in English and Latin,” on the Bishop’s death, published 1711 :

“ When to the Bath her Royal Highness came,  
**KENN** made the Abbey-church resound his fame ;  
 Floods of grave eloquence did from him fall ;  
**KENN** in the pulpit thunder’d like St. PAUL.”

Bishop Ken as far as possible avoided controversy. In an age of pamphlets, not a single missive had fallen from his pen. He adhered persistently, to the last moment, to his avowed preference, “not dispute, but devotion.”

The King’s blind zeal was, however, rapidly hastening on that last moment. He issued, on the 4th of April, 1687, a proclamation

repealing the oath and test acts in England, as well as Ireland and Scotland.

The effect of this measure was to release Protestant Dissenters as well as Roman Catholics from the disabilities under which they had hitherto labored. A portion of the former body, not perceiving the King's design, under the specious pretence of religious liberty, to involve all forms of Protestantism in a common destruction, and influenced by hatred to the Church of England, received the declaration with enthusiastic manifestations of joy. They presented addresses of congratulation to the King, thus encouraging him to persevere in his course by placing in his hand a weapon often wielded with effect by Pope and Jesuit. He hoped to conquer the Protestants by fomenting their unhappy quarrels.

The more eminent Dissenters avoided the mistakes of their short-sighted brethren, and made common cause with the Church of England.

Bishop Ken again returned to his Diocese. We have an account of his sermon at Bath on Ascension Day (May 5th), 1687, in a pamphlet written by a Jesuit, entitled "Ani-

madversions, by way of Answer to a Sermon preached by Dr. Thomas Kenne, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the Cathedral Church of Bath, on Ascension Day last, being the 5th of May, 1687," and dedicated to the King.

The writer admits, at the outset, that "Your lordship does not, I own, want the parts of an orator, and of an Evangelical one, too, had you but suck'd your doctrine (as St. John hath done) '*de sacro Dominici pectoris fonte*'—that is to say, within the Bosom of his only true Spouse on Earth, the Roman Catholic Church, Mother and Mistress of all visible churches."

The sermon was upon the Real Presence; and the writer endeavors, but without effect, to show a disagreement between the views expressed in the pulpit and those of the Bishop's Treatise on the Catechism. The pamphlet also contains an allusion to the sermon preached on the following Friday by the same divine. This labored attempt at refutation possesses a historical value, as displaying the importance attached to the Bishop's influence by the opposite party.

The King, unable to induce Parliament to

legalize his Declaration, dissolved that body, and issued writs for a new election. The day after the dissolution, the Pope's Nuncio, who had arrived some time before, was publicly received at court with great pomp.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE KING'S JOURNEY—TOUCHING FOR THE EVIL—ROMAN CATHOLIC SERVICE—BISHOP KEN'S LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP—SERMON ON CHARITY—EAGERNESS TO HEAR BISHOP KEN—THE REFORMED CHURCH OF JUDAH—TRUE PROPHETS—AMOS—A ROYAL AUDITOR—EDOMITES—THOUGHTS FOR CAPTIVITY—BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST—PATIENT SUBMISSION—REFORMATION—A KING REBUKED.

WITH the view of influencing the return of members to the new Parliament, the King commenced a sort of electioneering tour, dignified with the name of a royal progress. He was accompanied, perhaps in order to impress the public by a show of liberality, by Father Petre, a Jesuit, and William Penn, the Quaker.

The King, in the course of his progress, visited Bath, and "touched for the evil" after morning service in the Cathedral. A new form of prayer, Roman Catholic in character, had been prepared for these occasions, ascribing the alleged miraculous effect of the royal



touch to the intercession of the Virgin Mary. This practice was as old as the time of Edward the Confessor. It survived the Reformation, and was exercised as late as the reign of George III. The "divinity that doth hedge round a king" (according to Shakespeare), probably worked powerfully on the imaginations of ignorant minds, weakened by disease, and may have produced cures. A peculiarity of the treatment, the bestowal of a golden fee, not on the physician, but on the patient, contributed to maintain its venerable popularity.

Bishop Ken was at Wells during this performance. He had nothing to object to the touching, very likely joining in the belief of many eminent men of the day in its efficiency, but was of course indignant at the intrusion of an impure and illegal mode of worship in his Diocese. He could not interfere at the time, but took care on the very next Sunday to "define his position." He reports his course to the Archbishop of Canterbury, inscribing over his letter, in compliance with his constant practice in his correspondence, the words,

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

After mentioning the circumstance, he says: "I had not time to remonstrate, and if I had done it, it would have had no effect, but only to provoke; besides, I found it had been done in other churches before, and I know no place but the church which was capable to receive so great a multitude as came for cure, upon which consideration I was wholly passive. But being well aware what advantage the Romanists take from the least seeming compliances, I took occasion on Sunday from the Gospel, the subject of which was the Samaritan, to discourse of Charity, which I said ought to be the religion of the whole world, wherein Samaritan and Jew were to agree, and though we could not open the church doors to a worship different from that we paid to God, yet we should always set them open to a common work of Charity, because, in performing mutual offices of Charity one to another, there ought to be an universal agreement."

This beautiful passage shows how well a sincere, skilful man can turn an untoward accident to good account.

Bishop Ken was again called upon to preach at the royal chapel at Whitehall on

Passion Sunday, April 1, 1688. The sermon was appointed for the afternoon, and so great was the anxiety to hear the favorite divine at this momentous period, that, as Evelyn informs us, the celebration of the Holy Communion after a sermon by Dr. Stillingfleet in the morning, "was so interrupted by the rude breaking-in of multitudes zealous to hear the second sermon, to be preached by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed, without great trouble." The church doors remained open between the services, and the building was crowded long before the opening of worship. At the appointed time the Princess Anne took her seat in the royal gallery on the left hand of the King's chair, which was empty.

The Bishop "preached on Micah vii. 8, 9, 10. 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; He will bring me forth to the light and I shall behold his righteousness.'" He described "the

calamity of the reformed church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her, on her repentance; that as Judah emerged, so should the new reformed Church, wherever insulted and persecuted. He preached with his accustomed action, zeal, and energy, so that people flocked from all quarters to hear him."

It was easy for his auditors to transfer the scene to their own land and time, to substitute the Church of England for reformed Judah, Rome for Babylon, Dissent for Edom. He says himself, "My design in this discourse is, from penitent, patient, reformed Judah, to draw an example for the reformed Church of England, as far as their conditions may in any way agree." At an early stage of the sermon, which has been preserved, the preacher identifies himself with the prophet.

"It was a bold undertaking, to denounce God's judgments to the king, and to the court; and to tell them that the king's palace and that the whole city of Jerusalem should be ploughed, should be utterly destroyed; such mortifying subjects as these, courts, above all others, are not willing to hear of. But true prophets, in the delivery of their messages, fear

none but God, and dare say anything that God commands them. And there are times when prophets cannot, must not, keep silence ; when the watchmen ought to blow the trumpet, to give the warning of repentance to the whole land, or if the land will not take warning, to free their own souls.

“ Amos, who was originally ‘neither prophet nor prophet’s son, but a poor herdsman of Tekoa ;’ yet when God sent him he had courage from above, to prophesy against Israel, against King Jeroboam, and against the worship of the calves, ‘that the high places of Isaac should be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel laid waste, and that God would rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.’ And to prophesy these terrible things, even at Bethel, which was the king’s chapel and the king’s court ; and to prophesy in spite of Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, who falsely accused Amos to Jeroboam for conspiring against him ; adding ‘that the land was not able to bear all his words ;’ as if a true zeal for God had been rebellion against the king. \* \* \* \*

“ Happy was it for the king that he so devoutly attended to the prophet ; happy was it

for the prophet that he had the opportunity of preaching to the king himself. Had he preached these severe, though necessary truths, in another congregation, where a sort of men, such as the Psalmist complains of, came 'on purpose to wrest his words, and with thoughts against him for evil,' what tragical relations had been made of his sermon? But the prophet had been safe under the king's gracious protection, in having the king himself for his auditor; 'who being like an angel of God,' liked the preacher the better, for the conscientious discharge of his prophetic duty."

He warns the Dissenters, that they have a common danger and a common cause with the Church of England.

"Rejoice not, O ye Edomites, for in insulting over me, you insult over your own miseries as well as mine. Our God has commanded the Jew not to abhor an Edomite, 'for he is his brother.' Why should not this command be mutually observed on both sides? Why should the Edomite abhor his brother Jew? If both sides had been to blame, why should not their common danger have reconciled them? Ah, had Judah and

Edom revived that brotherly affection which, before the loss of the birthright, harbored in the breasts of their fathers, Jacob and Esau; had they both joined for the common safety against the Babylonian, the common enemy humanly speaking; both might have preserved their liberty; but Edom will be an easy prey to the Babylonian, now her neighbor Judah is led captive. Rejoice not then against captive Judah; since every wound you give Judah makes Edom bleed. Rejoice not, for there can be no greater sign of judicial infatuation, 'that God has destroyed the wise men out of Edom,' than Edom's rejoicing at Judah's captivity, which must needs precipitate her own."

He draws an eloquent moral from the low estate of Judah :

"When poor, captive, exile, penitent Judah lies chained in a Babylonish dungeon, dark as hell; yet the rays of the divine benignity can pierce through the thickest darkness, to enlighten and revive me. My chains will then be more eligible than liberty; Babylon will make me forget Sion. My very dungeon will be heaven upon earth, when I enjoy God there. No sad thought shall arise, but I can

take sanctuary in one of his gracious promises, which shall instantly dispel it. If this be captivity by becoming a Babylonish slave, to become the Lord's freeman, O may my captivity last not seventy, but seventy times seven years. No time, O Lord, is long; eternity itself is not tedious, that is spent in thy fruition. O Almighty Goodness, thou only canst make captivity desirable; welcome then, darkness, there will I sit, desiring to see no light but what comes from thy countenance; for thou art light, and liberty, and joy, and all in all to those who, for thy sake, are content for a while to sit in darkness."

The following passage is fearfully vivid, like the handwriting on the wall:

"The judgment God executed for his people was in all circumstances most remarkable. For vengeance surprised Babylon when the great Belshazzar, and his court, and his concubines, were gorging themselves at a luxurious, idle feast, 'drinking themselves drunk in the vessels of the temple,' and wallowing in their own loathsome vomits. It was then the king saw the fatal handwriting on the wall, 'At which his countenance fell and his thoughts troubled him, and the joints



of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.' Then it was, in the depth of their security, in the dead of the night, that Belshazzar was slain, the city was taken, and Darius seized the kingdom. The Babylonians were destroyed in the midst of a debauch ; in the height of their impiety they all went drunk to hell, and their souls and bodies perished both together."

He closes his discourse with his wonted earnestness :

"I earnestly exhort you, from the example of patient Judah, to patient submission ; the duty proper for this very day, which is Passion Sunday. I exhort you to patient submission, to whatever chastisement or curse God is pleased to send you. I exhort you to those fervent prayers and tears, and to that firm confidence, of either deliverance or support, with which the patient submission of penitent Judah, and of the primitive saints, was always accompanied. I exhort you to patient submission to God's indignation, though it be great, though it be lasting ; since, on this account, it is the more justly proportioned to the greatness and perpetuity of our sins. I exhort you 'to bear the indignation

of the Lord ; to bear it, until he pleads your cause ; to bear it, because you have sinned against him.' But to learn patient submission perfectly, I exhort you above all to the patience of Jesus ; who, 'when he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously.'

"In a word, I earnestly exhort you to a uniform zeal for the reformation ; that as, blessed be God, you are happily reformed in your faith, and in your worship, you would become wholly reformed in your lives. From such a reformation as this, we may confidently hope for a blessing ; and whatsoever enemies our Church may at any time have, should they be as insulting as the Babylonian, or as revengeful as the Edomite ; nay, should they for a while be never so successful, yet penitent, patient, and reformed England may then say with penitent, patient, reformed Judah, 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy ; when I fall I shall rise, when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him ; until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me. He will bring me

forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness.'”

The excitement naturally produced by this remarkable sermon soon brought the matter to the King's ears. The monarch, relying on the Bishop's well known devotion to the crown, had previously endeavored to gain him over to his measures. He now sent for him, but, according to Hawkins, “closeting him on the occasion, received nothing in answer but this fatherly reprimand, ‘that if his Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him.’ Whereupon he was dismissed.”

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE KING'S DECREE—MEETING OF CLERGY AT LAMBETH—  
THE PETITION—ITS DELIVERY AND RECEPTION—CONVER-  
SATION—READING OF THE DECLARATION AT WESTMIN-  
STER ABBEY—ADDITIONAL SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION.

ON the 27th of the same month in which Bishop Ken delivered his bold sermon, the King issued a state paper, reiterating his Declaration of the 4th of April, 1687. An order of Council, passed on the 4th of May, directed the Bishops to cause this decree to be read in all the churches in and about London on the 20th and 27th of the same month, and in all the other parts of the kingdom on the 3d and 10th of June.

The King relied, in this measure, as he had often done before, on the strong attachment of the clergy to monarchical institutions. He had been solemnly warned by good old Bishop Morley on his death-bed not to carry this reliance too far. He was blinded by the rash counsels of the Jesuits and his own headstrong bigotry.

The Bishops regarded his last requirement as contrary to the law of the land. Parliament alone had the power to abolish tests and oaths.

Archbishop Sancroft took immediate measures to meet the emergency. After consulting with several of his brethren, he summoned the Bishops to a conference at Lambeth Palace. Bishop Ken, who had returned to Wells, immediately after the receipt of the request hastened to London. A meeting was held at the palace on Friday, May 18. Seven bishops were present with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tenison, Sherlock, and Grove of the neighboring clergy. After prayers the following petition to the King was drawn up in the handwriting of the Archbishop.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.  
The Humble Petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of divers of the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, now present with him, in behalf of themselves and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses,

Humbly sheweth :

That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their Churches your Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceedeth not from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, our Holy Mother, the Church of England, being both in her principles and in her constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having (to her great honor) been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your Gracious Majesty; nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation; but, amongst many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a Dispensing Power, as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662, and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honor, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all

over the Nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again even in God's House, and in the time of His Divine Service, must amount to, in common and reasonable construction.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration.

And your Petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, etc.

W. Cant [Sancroft].

W. Asaph [Lloyd].

Fran. Ely [Turner].

Jo. Cicest: [Lake].

Tho. Bath and Wells [Ken].

Tho. Petriburgens [White].

Jon. Bristol [Trelawney].

Compton, Bishop of London, who was present, did not sign, having been suspended from his office under the late orders for preaching against Popery.

It was 10 o'clock at night, but as the Declaration was to be read in the churches on the following Sunday, the six Bishops resolved to present the petition immediately.

They crossed the river to Whitehall, the Archbishop, who had been forbidden to appear at court, remaining behind. They applied to Lord Sunderland to inform the King that they had a petition to deliver, and were soon summoned to the royal presence. They delivered the paper all kneeling.

The King read the document, folded it, and exclaimed : "This is a great surprise to me : here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion." He repeated the last sentence frequently. Several of the Bishops earnestly disclaimed the accusation. Trelawney, in disproof of it, recalled his exertions against Monmouth. Ken now took the lead with his wonted quiet energy. The conversation is thus reported :

*Bishop of Bath.* Sir, I hope you will give that liberty [of conscience] to us which you allow to all mankind.

The King, insisting upon the tendency of the petition to rebellion, said he would have his Declaration published.

*Bishop of Bath.* We are bound to fear God and honor the King. We desire to do both : we will honor you ; we must fear God.



*The King.* Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it? I will remember you, that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

*Bishop of Bath.* God's will be done.

*The King.* What's that?

*Bishop of Bath.* God's will be done.—  
And so said the Bishop of Peterborough.

*The King.* If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are 7,000 men, and of the Church of England, too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.\*

The petitioners then retired. Their petition was printed and circulated the same night, and, of course, aroused general comment on the morrow. The energetic conduct of the Bishops excited universal respect, even among the Dissenters. The public sentiment was significantly expressed at Westminster Abbey on the following Sunday.

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\* D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, quoted in "Life of Ken," 418.

As soon as the reading of the Declaration was commenced, the congregation rose from their seats ; and before it was concluded no one was left in the church but the clergy, the choristers, and the boys of Westminster School. A few days after, six more Bishops returned their signatures to the petition, all of them strong royalists.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE BISHOPS SUMMONED BEFORE THE COUNCIL—THEIR  
APPEARANCE—JEFFRIES—THE BISHOPS ON THEIR WAY  
TO THE TOWER—THE POPULAR SYMPATHY—EVENING  
SERVICE IN THE TOWER—IMPRISONMENT—VISITORS—  
DISSENTERS — BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES —  
DISCONTENT.

THE King was urged on by his rash advisers to extreme measures. The petitioners were summoned on the 27th to answer before the Council on the 8th of June to the charge of misdemeanor, in publishing a libel on the King. They employed the interval in consultation and correspondence with their brethren at a distance, urging them to make common cause by omitting to read the Declaration. In this they were for the most part successful.

On Friday, the 8th of June, the Archbishop and the six Bishops were called before the King and the Privy Council. They admitted that they had prepared and signed the paper, but refused to state whether any others were present at the time. The Lord Chancellor,

Jeffries, abused them with his usual violence, and then asked if they would give bail to appear for trial before the Court of King's Bench. This they refused, as it was contrary to the privileges of the House of Lords for any of its members to be bound in recognizances for a misdemeanor, but expressed their willingness to appear and answer to the charge whenever called upon. The Chancellor then threatened to send them to the Tower unless they immediately recanted their petition. They unanimously refused to do so, whatever might be the consequence. They were repeatedly dismissed to an ante-room and re-summoned before the Council, but were unmoved by threat or entreaty. They were finally placed in charge of guards, to be conducted to the Tower.

A large concourse of the people were assembled about the palace, anxiously awaiting the issue. The government were afraid to face the excited multitude, and ordered the prisoners to be removed by water. The popular enthusiasm could not be thus foiled. The crowd rushed to the water's edge to salute the barge as it passed with the noble men, who like their true fathers in God were hazarding

their lives for the national faith and the national liberties. Multitudes kneeled on the shore or waded out in the stream asking their apostolic benediction. The guards shared in the common enthusiastic reverence and kneeled to partake the blessing. The prelates appeared cheerful and composed. They exhorted the people to loyalty and good conduct, and gained universal admiration by their deportment through the whole course of this strange triumphal progress.

Their first act on arriving at the prison was to seek the chapel and unite in prayers. The second lesson of the evening service for the day, the sixth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, seemed to the people as if especially designed for the honor and consolation of the persecuted Fathers. On the day but one after, Trinity Sunday, they all received the Holy Communion.

The Bishops were allowed free intercourse with one another, and to receive the visits of the friends who came in crowds to testify their sympathy and respect. Contemporaries furnish us with ample evidence of the general enthusiasm.

“All sorts and conditions of men” were

represented in the multitude of visitors offering aid and urging them on in the "good fight." The prison guards drank the Bishops' good healths. The commander sent orders to the captain of the guard to see that the offence was not repeated. The captain sent back answer that the guard "were doing it at the very instant, and would drink that, and no other health, whilst the Bishops were there."\*

Ten dissenting ministers called on the Bishops. The King, highly provoked and bewildered by this demonstration from a party he had done so much to conciliate, sent for and reprimanded four of these divines. He only obtained for answer, "that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant and firm to the Catholic Faith."

The public sympathy and excitement was heightened by an event which would have, under ordinary circumstances, been hailed with joy, but was now received by all but a small Court party with dismay. The Queen was safely delivered of a son. The people had hitherto looked forward to the lifetime of the King as the limit of a rule oppres-

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\* Reresby's Memoirs.

sive and hateful in Church and state. They now knew that in the ordinary course of nature he would be succeeded by a son carefully trained in his father's faith and practice. The public liberties were more than ever threatened, and the public sympathy gathered with renewed solicitude around the only defenders of the popular rights, the seven Bishops in the Tower. Party lines melted away so rapidly under the genial influence of heroic leadership, that even the plotters against popular rights lost heart. "The whole Church," wrote d'Adda, the Pope's Nuncio, "espouses the cause of the Bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division amongst the Anglicans, and our hopes from the Nonconformists are vanished."\*

## CHAPTER XX.

THE BISHOPS ON THE WAY TO WESTMINSTER — THEY  
PLEAD NOT GUILTY — BAIL OFFERED BY DISSENTERS  
— POPULAR ENTHUSIASM — THE KING URGED TO AN  
AMNESTY — THE TRIAL — RECEPTION OF THE VERDICT  
BY THE PEOPLE, THE ARMY, AND THE KING — THE  
PRINCE OF ORANGE INVITED TO ENGLAND — ENGRAV-  
INGS AND MEDALS OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS — THE  
NEWS IN SCOTLAND — THE ARCHBISHOP'S CIRCULAR —  
BISHOP KEN'S ENERGETIC CONDUCT — BISHOP TRELAW-  
NEY'S LETTER.

AT the expiration of a week the seven Bishops were brought to the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster. As they passed up the river, the banks on both sides were lined with eager spectators, who loudly cheered their progress. As they landed, the crowd formed a lane for them to pass through to the Hall; those in front knelt and implored a blessing. The Archbishop laid his hands on the heads of several. As he did this the rest knelt, and tears came to the eyes of many. The Bishops refused, as before, to



answer, standing upon their rights as Peers. The point was argued at great length by the respective counsel, and decided against the prisoners by the judges. They then answered, Not Guilty. They were allowed a fortnight to prepare for trial.

A number of the first men of the kingdom stood ready to bail the prisoners. "One of the most opulent Dissenters of the city," belonging to the sect of the Quakers, had begged as a privilege to stand security for Ken. The prosecution, however, desirous of courting popular favor by a pretence of liberality, required no security beyond the promise of the accused, who were consequently set at liberty. The Bishops escaped with difficulty from the congratulatory crowds in the streets. The grenadiers, posted by the Archbishop's opponents at Lambeth, received him with military honors, and asked his blessing on their knees. The streets were illuminated at night by bonfires, and the health of the Bishops everywhere pledged.

The King was urged by his best counselors to yield before the day of trial, by making the birth of the Prince the occasion of an amnesty; but, so far from yielding, he

employed every expedient to pack a jury, and otherwise prejudice the prisoners.

On the day of the trial, the 29th of June, 1688, the Bishops, attended by thirty-five Lords and a number of other distinguished friends, took their seats in front of the judges in the densely-crowded Westminster Hall, the august edifice which had been the scene of the trial of Charles I., and of many other memorable events in the history of English liberty.

The trial lasted ten hours. Whenever a point occurred in the proceedings or pleadings favorable to the prisoners, a shout of triumph rose from the spectators which all the officers of the court were unable to suppress.

The jury retired at seven o'clock in the evening. The door of their room was carefully watched during the night by the friends of the Bishops. The members of the jury were denied, by order, "fire or candle, bread, drink, tobacco, or any other refreshment whatever." They agreed in the morning on a verdict. The court assembled at ten to receive it. As soon as the first of the important words, "not guilty," passed the

lips of the foreman, a mighty shout, that seemed as if it would crack the sturdy timbers of the stout old hall, went forth from the audience. It was caught up by those waiting in the passages and the space outside, and was passed from mouth to mouth along the streets and the boats plying on the river. Business was suspended. Men, flocking together, shouted and wept for joy. The sound passed through the city to the camp recently established by the King at Hounslow Heath. James, sitting at dinner, heard his soldiers suddenly raise a great shout. He sent out to learn what was the matter. The messenger soon returned. "It was nothing but the soldiers shouting upon the news of the Bishops being acquitted." "And do you call that nothing?" the King answered; "but so much the worse for them."

It was so much the worse rather for the speaker. The great popular victory secured his downfall. The very same day a number of the leading men of England despatched a letter to the Prince of Orange, inviting him to "come over and help" the nation to struggle for its liberties.

The jury were hugged and congratulated

as they left the court. The Bishops sought their residences as quietly as possible. Ken accompanied the Archbishop to Lambeth, passing over London Bridge and through Southwark. They were several hours on the way, their progress being constantly impeded by congratulatory crowds, the people hanging on to the coach, and insisting on a benediction.

Engravings, representing the portraits of the seven worthies, grouped together with various devices, such as the Seven Candlesticks, the royal arms, Moses and David; the mottoes "Primitive Christianity restored in England," and "*Immobile saxum*," were rapidly executed, and met with a rapid sale. Seventeen different sheets of this description are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Medals were also struck with various devices. One presented the Tower, with the legend, "Honor to the good, infamy to the bad." In another, a church stood upon a rock, in the midst of the sea, blown upon by the four winds—her motto *Immota triumphans*. Unmoved triumphant. Two represented a Jesuit and a monk, busy with spade and pickaxe in undermining a church,

which is supported by a hand from heaven. On the reverse of one appeared medallions of the seven Bishops, with the motto, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her 7 pillars." On another the motto, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

These medals are said to have been worn for years as badges by zealous members both among the clergy and laity of the Church of England. They were so highly prized as to be handed down by gift and formal bequest from father to son. Eight varieties are preserved in the collection of Mr. Edward Hawkins, of the British Museum.

The news rapidly spread through England, and was received with ringing of bells and shouts and bonfires. A letter to the Archbishop betokens some degree of the same feeling in the sister kingdom.

"It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the Bishops of England are in great veneration amongst the Presbyterians of Scotland, and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst them. But I hope it will be no news to your Grace to hear that no man was more concerned in

the safety of your consciences and persons than,

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Your Grace’s most humble servant,

“ GEORGE MACKENZIE.”

This sympathy is the more significant when we remember that the Presbyterians were justly exasperated by a series of persecutions which they charged to the Church of England, but which were set on foot by the civil power.

The Archbishop now resumed with renewed zeal the defence of the Church. He issued on the 26th of July a circular to the Bishops respecting their addresses to the Clergy and laity, exhorting them to purity of life and conformity to the requirements of the Liturgy. He charges the Clergy—

“ That in their sermons they teach and inform their people (four times a year at the least, as the first Canon requires) that all *Usurp’d* and *Foreign* Jurisdiction is for most just causes taken away and abolished in this Realm, and no manner of obedience or subjection due to the same, or to any that pretend to act by virtue of it.”

They are also to warn the people “to take heed of all seducers, and especially of all

Popish Emissaries, who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst them, and more busy and active than ever."

These instructions were circulated in the face of the stringent requirements of the government respecting the reading of the Declaration. Bishop Ken, as heretofore, was among the foremost in fearless opposition. He not only distributed the Archbishop's charge, and prevented his clergy from reading the Declaration, but united with the stout-hearted Trelawney in urging a similar course on their neighbor, the Bishop of Exeter, Lampleugh. It appears from Trelawney's letter to the Archbishop that "his Lordship, acting according to a settled maxim of his own, 'I will be safe,' had given order for the publishing the Declarations notwithstanding the Bishop of Bath and Wells and my letters to him, and was at last brought to recall them by the Dean's sending him word that, if he would betray the Church, he should not the Cathedral, for he would rather be hanged at the doors of it than the Declaration should be read there, or in any part of his jurisdiction, which is large in the county."

## CHAPTER XXI.

WILLIAM ACCEPTS THE INVITATION TO ENGLAND—JAMES INACTIVE—CONFERENCE WITH BISHOPS—THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS—COLLECTS—WILLIAM LANDS AT TORBAY—JAMES DESERTED—BISHOP KEN'S LETTER—JAMES LEAVES LONDON—ROBBED AT FEVERSHAM, AND RETURNS—LEAVES ENGLAND—WILLIAM INVITED TO ADMINISTER THE GOVERNMENT—HE SUMMONS PARLIAMENT.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE gladly accepted the invitation tendered him from England. He had long been a careful observer of the infatuated course of his father-in-law, and had long foreseen its results. He rapidly collected forces ostensibly for service in the league formed by the Protestant powers against Louis XIV.

James was warned of his danger, and received the offer of 40,000 troops from Louis, who was deeply interested in the result. He was afraid to accept foreign aid lest he should offend his own people, and at the same time unwilling to claim a popular ground of support by abandoning his unconstitutional



measures. He refused to believe the rumors which reached him respecting the Prince of Orange until near the close of September, when he was roused by authentic intelligence of the facts, sent him by Louis. He now summoned a parliament, and requested the Bishops whom he had recently sought to imprison, to consult with him. Ken received the summons at Wells, and at once hastened to London. The Archbishop was unwell, and could not therefore accompany the six Bishops who waited on the King. Meanwhile the monarch had changed his mind. Instead of consulting with his visitors on public affairs, he expressed in general terms his favorable regard for the Church of England and his reliance upon the loyalty of the prelates. Ken told the King plainly that "His Majesty's inclinations towards the Church, and their duty to him, were sufficiently understood and declared before, and would have been equally so, if they had not stirred one foot out of their Dioceses." The Archbishop, dissatisfied with this result, waited on the King the day but one after, and expressed to him the desire of the Bishops to offer their advice respecting the critical state of the

country. The King appointed the 2d of October for the conference. On that day the Bishops appeared and presented a paper which they had drawn up, recommending a withdrawal of the arbitrary measures recently passed and the immediate convocation of a parliament. The King thanked them for their advice, but refused to summon Parliament, having a day or two before countermanded the notice he had recently issued.

The Bishops were summoned by the King on the 8th, and consulted respecting the appointment of a fast. They were requested to prepare collects "to be used in this time of danger of an invasion." They again met the King on the 10th, and presented the collects they had prepared. They waited on him the next day, when he returned the collects, and ordered that they should be read in all the churches. This was the last meeting between Bishop Ken and the King. Having performed his errand he retired to his Diocese.

James held other conferences with the remaining Bishops, but without satisfactory results. His preparations for defence were inefficient, and he foolishly exasperated the people at this critical moment by causing the

infant prince to be baptized according to the Roman Catholic ritual by the Pope's Nuncio.

William assembled a fleet of over fifty men-of-war, with the standard of England, inscribed with the motto—"The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England," floating from the mast-head of his own vessel. He landed at Torbay, on the west coast of England, on the 5th of November, and advanced into the interior, somewhat disheartened by the cold reception he met from the people.

The Archbishop and the few Bishops in London at the time now made a last attempt to induce the King to summon Parliament. He foolishly refused to do so until the Prince of Orange should have left the country, and quitting London the same evening (the 17th) joined his army at Salisbury on the 19th. Here he was deserted by Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough) and many of his chief officers, and consequently retreated on the 24th to Andover, where his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, also made off to the enemy. The King next returned to London, and on enquiring for his daughter, the Princess Anne, found that she too had left the night before with the Bishop of London and

Lady Churchill to join the Prince of Orange. This defection naturally caused him great grief.

A letter from Bishop Ken to the Archbishop acquaints us with his movements at this critical period.

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

May it please your Grace,

Before I could return any answer to the letter with which your Grace was pleased to favor me, I received intelligence that the Dutch were just coming to Wells, upon which I immediately left the town, and in obedience to his Majesty's general commands, took all my coach horses with me, and as many of my saddle horses as I could, and took shelter in a private village in Wiltshire, intending if his Majesty had come into my country, to have waited on him, and have paid him my duty. But this morning we are told his Majesty is gone back to London, so that I only wait till the Dutch have passed my Diocese, and then resolve to return thither again, as being my proper station. I would not have left the Diocese in this juncture, but that the Dutch had seized horses within ten miles of Wells before I went, and your Grace

knows that I, having been a servant to the Princess, and well acquainted with many of the Dutch, I could not have stayed without giving some occasion of suspicion, which I thought it most advisable to avoid, resolving by God's grace to continue in a firm loyalty to the King, whom God direct and preserve in this time of danger; and I beseech your Grace to lay my most humble duty at his Majesty's feet, and to acquaint him with the reason of my retiring, that I may not be misunderstood."

The letter is dated on the 24th of November. The "private village" was probably Poulshot, of which his nephew, Isaac Walton, was rector.

The King, in his extremity, now issued a proclamation for the assemblage of Parliament. His ill advisers, fearing a parliament as much as the Prince of Orange, persuaded him a few days after to revoke his proclamation, and rely entirely upon French aid. He had already sent his queen and child to Louis, and on the 11th of December secretly withdrew from the city to follow them.

Anarchy was promptly prevented by the energetic action of the Archbishop and other

Peers who, assembling in Guildhall, undertook the government, and invited the Prince of Orange to London. While awaiting his arrival, news was received that the King had been discovered, robbed of his watch and money, and imprisoned by the mob at Feversham. Troops were sent to set him at liberty, and he returned to London, where he was received, with the reaction which often characterizes revolutionary progress, with shouts, bell-ringing, and bonfires.

The Prince received this news at Windsor. He ordered his foreign guards to take possession of Whitehall, and at midnight served a warrant on the King, commanding him to leave the palace before ten o'clock the next morning. James again departed, and William, who had the wisdom to know that the best mode of disposing of an incompetent ruler was to let him run away, offered no obstacle to his progress to France. On the 25th he left England forever.

William entered London with great applause the day of the King's flight. On the 24th he was requested by the assembly of Lords to assume the management of the government and issue writs for a parliament.

The Prince was too prudent and too faithful to his position as the representative of popular rights to take any step without the sanction of the Commons. He therefore invited all members of any of the parliaments during the reign of Charles II., with the Lord Mayor and fifty of the Common Council, to meet him on the 26th, at St. James' Palace. One hundred and sixty members, with the other officials, answered to the call. They were requested by the Prince to assemble for deliberation in the House of Commons. They promptly complied, elected a speaker, and united in due form with the request of the Lords. William immediately issued a summons for a convention to meet on the 22d of January. On the following Sunday, the 30th, he received the Holy Communion, as a member of the Church of England.

## CHAPTER XXII.

BISHOP KEN SUMMONED TO LONDON — CONFERENCE OF  
PRELATES—EVELYN'S VISITS TO LAMBETH—PARTIES—  
BISHOP KEN IN THE CONVENTION—FORM OF PRAYERS  
—WILLIAM'S DECISIVE ACTION—WILLIAM AND MARY—  
BISHOP KEN'S PROTEST—THE NON-JUROERS—WILLIAM  
ENDEAVORS TO EXCUSE THEM FROM THE OATHS—HIS  
POLICY DEFEATED—DEATH OF BISHOPS THOMAS AND  
LAKE.

BISHOP KEN, after the passage of the army through his Diocese, returned to Wells. Here he received a letter from the Archbishop requesting him to make "all convenient haste" to consult with him at London. The summons arrived two days before the time he had appointed for an ordination in his Cathedral. As he could not postpone the ceremony, the duties of his office always holding a paramount place in his mind, and the Christmas holidays followed immediately after, he did not arrive at Lambeth until the 10th of January.

The Bishops held frequent and anxious



conference as to the course they should advise in the approaching Parliament. Evelyn furnishes us, as often previously, a valuable insight into the state of affairs. "I visited the Archbishop on the 15th, where I found the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, and others. After prayers and dinner, divers serious matters were discoursed concerning the present state of the public; and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgment of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene; some would have the Princess [William's wife] made Queen without any more dispute; others were for a regency; there was a Tory party (then so called), who were for inviting His Majesty again upon conditions; and there were Republicans, who would make the P. of Orange like a Stadtholder." The Bishops, he found, "were all for a Regency, thereby to salve [save] their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a parliament according to the laws in being."

On the opening of the Convention on the 22d of January, the Archbishop refused to take his seat in the House of Lords, much to

the disappointment of the King's friends. He probably foresaw the result, and was fearful that by joining the deliberation he should be held by the action of the assembly.

Bishop Ken was present at every meeting. He joined with the entire body in a congratulatory address to the Prince of Orange, and in a request<sup>o</sup> to him to continue at the head of the government. He was one of a committee of eleven Bishops to draw up a form of prayers for a day of thanksgiving and a collect to be said daily for the Prince of Orange. Mr. Macaulay gives the highest praise to the result of their labors. "It is perfectly free both from the adulation and from the malignity by which such compositions were in that age too often deformed, and sustains, better perhaps than any occasional service which has been framed during two centuries, a comparison with that great model of chaste, lofty, and pathetic eloquence, the Book of Common Prayer."\*

Bishop Ken also voted, on the 29th, "that it was found by experience to be inconsistent

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<sup>o</sup> History of England, II., 637, quoted in the "Life of Ken," p. 499.

with the safety and welfare of the Protestant Religion, to be governed by a Popish Prince;" on the 30th, and the 4th of February, against the resolution of the Commons that the throne was vacant. The Prince of Orange had since his arrival wisely avoided any expression of opinion respecting the future settlement of the government, leaving the matter until it should be fully discussed by the appointed Convention. After that body had been in session for a fortnight without determining the question, he summoned several of the Lords who had invited him over, and intimated to them his unwillingness to act as Regent or in any other but the Sovereign capacity. If this did not suit the nation, he would return home. His action hastened the decision of the question, and the Convention by a large majority declared William and Mary his wife, King and Queen of England, setting forth at the same time a Declaration of Rights which effectually secured the great principles recently contended for.

Bishop Ken voted in the negative, and with 36 other Peers, 11 of whom were Bishops, entered a protest against the proceeding. They then withdrew from the Convention.

The day after, the Convention assembled in the Banqueting Room at Whitehall, and on behalf of the nation they represented, conferred the crown upon William and Mary.

The clergy were now requested to swear allegiance to the new sovereigns. Archbishop Sancroft, Bishops Ken, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester, with 400 of the other clergy, refused compliance, and were henceforth known as non-jurors. These non-juring Bishops were among the leading men of the country. All, with the exception of Lloyd and Frampton, had formed part of the noble company whose imprisonment, trial, and acquittal had done so much to bring about the change in which they refused to acquiesce. They expressed no disapproval of the new sovereigns. They had, as we have just seen, hailed William as a Deliverer. The form of thanksgiving they had prepared contained these sentences—  
“We give glory to Thy holy name for our deliverance from the intolerable yoke of the Romish Church.” “It was because Thy compassions failed not, that our Holy Reformed Religion was not overwhelmed with

Popish superstition and idolatry." "Blessed be Thy name, who hast raised up for us a mighty Deliverer, by whom Thou hast wrought this great salvation." In the prayer to be read with the liturgy they had said, "Almighty God, who in times of trouble and danger dost raise up Deliverers to Thy people, we beseech Thee to bless his Highness the Prince of Orange, whom Thou hast sent to be the Defender of our Laws and Religion. Protect his person, strengthen his hands."

They had, on the other hand, no sympathy with or desire to recall James to the throne, but to James they had sworn allegiance, and in their minds no earthly power or change of circumstance absolved them from their oath.

William endeavored to obviate the difficulty by having a bill introduced in which Dissenters were made eligible to office, and the Bishops excused from taking the oaths unless required by the King in Council. The clause relating to Dissenters resembled that contended for by James, but the two measures were, in reality, widely different. James pretended to advocate religious freedom, that he might gradually gain the ascendancy for

a form of religion in which toleration found no place. William had no ulterior object beyond the desire for religious freedom and the avoidance of civil strife. He had apparently no decided views respecting ecclesiastical government, as he soon afterwards established the Presbyterian as the state church in Scotland.

His measure was defeated by the jealousy of the two great parties. The Tories would not help the Dissenters, and the Whigs in retaliation refused to relieve the Bishops. The matter was decided by an act, passed on the 23d of February, requiring the clergy to take the oath by the 1st of August following, under penalty of suspension. If they declined after the 1st of February, 1690, they were to be deprived of their offices and emoluments.

Soon after the passage of this act, two of the non-juring bishops, Dr. William Thomas, of Worcester, and Dr. John Lake, of Chichester, died. Both in their last moments declared their steadfast adherence and approval of the line of conduct they had adopted. This incident, as its natural result, inspired the remainder with greater determination.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

BISHOP KEN'S ADMINISTRATION OF HIS DIOCESE—AVOIDS  
CONTROVERSY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP BURNET  
—DEFENDS HIS CONSISTENCY—BISHOP BURNET'S HIS-  
TORY—BISHOP KEN'S VISIT TO DR. HOOPER—DR. FITZ-  
WILLIAM'S LETTER—PETITION FROM THE CLERGY OF  
BATH AND WELLS.

BISHOP KEN remained in his Diocese calmly performing his duties. He consented to the filling up of several cures, and as he could not administer an oath he could not take himself, gave a special commission to his chancellor to act in his behalf. When the benefices were in his own gift, he appointed without reference to the political opinions of his candidates. He took no part in the angry controversy of the time, although occupying so decided a position. "I find it much easier," he remarks in one of his letters, "silently to endure the passion of others, than to endeavor to mitigate it."

He appears to have been shaken in his determination by the rumor that James, who

had invaded Ireland with foreign troops in a desperate attempt to recover his lost crown, had formally ceded that portion of the kingdom to France. He admits in a letter to Bishop Burnet—"Before I went to London I told some of my friends that if that [referring to the rumor just mentioned] proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance (and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter), it would be an inducement to me to comply; but when I came to town, I found it was false; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper and adhered to my former opinion."

Dr. Burnet, to whom this letter was addressed, was a vehement advocate of the new order of things. He had come over with William, and been soon after appointed to the Bishopric of Salisbury. He was naturally desirous, as a politician, to overcome Bishop Ken's scruples, and had, with that view, addressed him a letter, to which Bishop Ken returned an early reply, containing the passage we have quoted. A few brief extracts from the correspondence will throw additional light on his position.



Burnet writes, "I am extremely concerned to see your Lordship so unhappily possessed with that, which is likely to prove so fatal to the Church, if we are deprived of one who has served in it with so much honor as you have done, especially at such a time when there are fair hopes of the reforming of several abuses. I am the more amazed to find your Lordship so positive, because some have told myself, that you had advised them to take that which you refuse yourself, and others have told me, that they read a Pastoral Letter which you had prepared for your Diocese, and were resolved to print it, when you went to London. Your Lordship, it seems, chang'd your mind there, which gave great advantages to those who were so severe as to say, that there was something else than conscience at the bottom."

The Bishop replies, "I will give such an account, which, if it does not satisfy your Lordship, will at least satisfy myself. I dare assure you I never advised any to take the oath. \* \* \* . If any came to discourse with me about taking the oath, I usually told them I durst not take it myself. I told them my reasons, if they urged me to it, and were

of my own Diocese, and then remitted them to their study, and prayers for further directions. 'Tis true, having been scandaliz'd at many persons of our own coat, who for several years together preached up passive-obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, it being a subject with which I very rarely meddled, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgment of their past error, preach'd and acted the quite contrary; I did prepare a pastoral letter, which, if I had seen reason to alter my judgment [that is to conform], I thought to have published, at least that part of it on which I laid the greatest stress, to justify my conduct to my flock."

The passage already quoted, alluding to James, follows. He then continues:

"If this is to be called change of mind, and a change so criminal, that people who are very discerning, and know my own heart better than myself, have pronounc'd sentence upon me, that there is something else than conscience at the bottom—I am much afraid, that some of these who censure me, may be chargeable with more notorious changes than that—whether more conscientious or no, God only is the Judge. If your Lordship gives

credit to the many misrepresentations which are made of me, and which I being so us'd to can easily disregard, you may naturally enough be in pain for me; for to see one of your brethren throwing himself headlong into a wilful deprivation, not only of honor and of income, but of a good conscience also, are particulars out of which may be fram'd an idea very deplorable. But tho' I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God I cannot accuse myself of any insincerity, so that Deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for myself. I perceive that, after we have been sufficiently ridicul'd, the last mortal stab design'd to be given us is, to expose us to the world for men of no conscience; and if God is pleased to permit it, His most holy will be done; though what that particular passion of corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in losing all we have, will be hard to determine. God grant such reproaches as these may not revert on the authors. I heartily join with your Lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church; and I shall conceive great hopes that God will have compassion on her, if I see that she compassion-

ates and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace, and that charity, I myself can only contribute to, both by my prayers and by my deprecations, against schism, and against sacrilege."

Burnet, after the receipt of this admirable reply, has unfairly inserted a passage in his "History of his Own Time" reiterating his charges against Ken. They have long since, in the minds of those acquainted with the subject, "returned to plague the inventor," as one among the many evidences of his blind party spirit.

During this visit to London, Bishop Ken was the guest of his old friend Hooper, who had taken the oaths. Hooper urged him to follow his example, and one evening as they parted to retire to bed, had nearly induced him to do so. The next morning, however, the Bishop said to him, "I question not but that you and several others have taken the oaths, with as good conscience as myself shall refuse them; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used; but I beg you to urge them no further; for should I be persuaded to

comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world." His friend replied that "he would never mention the subject any more to him, for God forbid he should take them."\*

An allusion in a letter from Bishop Ken's friend and successor at Brightstone, Dr. John Fitzwilliam, to Lady Russell, the widow of Lord William Russell, throws additional light on his honorable doubts. Dr. Fitzwilliam was himself a thorough non-juror.

"I cannot tell," he writes, "what my dear friend the B. of B. and W. may do in this case. I find him, by a letter to me, and another I saw in the hands of a person of honor of your sex, to be fluctuating; but if the consideration of the Church's peace should, without a full persuasion of the lawfulness of the matter of the Oath of Allegiance, and the authority which imposeth it, induce him to take it, neither his example nor advice, tho' I have used him as a spiritual guide, should steer me in this point."

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\* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse, quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 534.

The alarm expressed in the correspondence of the other non-juring Bishops respecting Hooper's influence over Ken shows the importance attached by both parties to his adherence. Their fears were needless, for the host's endeavors and the guest's doubts had, as we have seen, ceased.

The clergy of the Bishop's Diocese now endeavored to save themselves from the loss impending over them of a Father to whom they were warmly attached by the preparation of the following Petition "in behalf of the most reverend Archbishop of the Province (of Canterbury), and the right reverend the Bishops at present under censure.

"That your Petitioners, having had great reason to bless God for those their ecclesiastical governors, by whose godly wisdom and directions they have all along been greatly edified, and by whose religious conduct and exemplary constancy they have, through the providence of God, been lately preserved in perilous times, and for whose sufferings and imminent dangers under which they then lay, your Petitioners were then, together with the whole kingdom, deeply afflicted. As we should have thought ourselves very happy if

the same reverend persons could have satisfied themselves to have taken the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy required by the late Act of Parliament, so we cannot but entertain so much filial tenderness and dutiful affection for them, as passionately to entreat, that the Church may not suffer so great a loss as to be deprived of them, nor they be wholly excluded from the comforts of that great deliverance which we owe to your Majestie, to which they, by a generous and seasonable exposing of themselves for the common safety, did eminently contribute; and that your most humble Petitioners are more especially emboldened to address your Majesty on their behalf, from that full experience we have of the peaceableness of their disposition, for which we are ready to stand engaged, and particularly from this consideration, that although they have not taken the oaths themselves, yet, neither we, your Petitioners, nor any depending on them, have, as we are morally assured, ever by them been discouraged from taking the same.

May it therefore please your most excellent Majestie, graciously to propound some such expedient as shall seem most proper to your

Majestie's high wisdom, that these reverend persons may not stand deprived of their revenues and dignity, and may be restored to such administration of their several functions as may consist with the safety and honor of your Majesty's government. And your Petitioners," etc.

Mr. Bowles prints this document in his life of the Bishop "as found among Ken's papers." Similar petitions were circulated in the Dioceses of Norwich and Gloucester, in behalf of their Bishops, Lloyd and Frampton. The great body of the Clergy throughout the country also manifested their sympathy with the prelates.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

HESITATION IN PROCEEDING AGAINST THE NON-JURORS—  
SPURIOUS PUBLIC PRAYERS—PAMPHLET AGAINST THE  
NON-JURORS — DE WITTING — BISHOP LLOYD'S HOUSE  
ATTACKED—THE NON-JURING BISHOPS' "DECLARATION"  
—EFFORTS FOR COMPROMISE — BISHOP TURNER IN-  
VOLVED IN A JACOBITE PLOT.

THE Bishops took no part in these move-  
ments, and none of the petitions appear  
to have been presented in Parliament. The  
government were, however, averse to pro-  
ceeding to extremities. The first of Feb-  
ruary, 1690, passed by, and the non-juring  
Bishops were left in possession of their Dio-  
ceses. The King was desirous to conciliate  
all parties in the kingdom, the Queen was  
warmly attached to the Church of England  
and her former chaplain, Dr. Ken. Hopes  
were entertained of a settlement of the diffi-  
culty; but these were frustrated.

A national fast was appointed for the 12th  
of March, and the third Wednesday of every  
month following, during the war now waging

with James in Ireland. The King was about to take command of the forces, and special prayers for his safety and success were published and ordered to be used. At the same time with this official publication several thousand copies of a form of prayer for the late King were mischievously distributed by some Roman Catholics or Jacobites, as the adherents to James were styled.

The composition of this infamous attempt to pervert a sacred service to a treasonable demonstration was charged upon the non-juring Bishops. They treated the accusation with silent contempt.

On the 30th of June a sea-fight took place off Beachey Head, on the coast of Sussex, in which the combined Dutch and English fleets were beaten by the French. For a month following the victors remained masters of the English Channel. While the public excitement and apprehension caused by this defeat were at their highest point, an anonymous pamphlet appeared, entitled "A Modest Enquiry into the present Disasters, and who they are that brought the French fleet into the English Channel." It consisted of a violently abusive attack on the non-juring Bishops, reit-

erating the charge we have mentioned, and coupling with it the still grosser accusation, that the Bishops had invited over the French King to invade the country.

The author recommends that the offenders should be *De Witted*—a word deriving its significance from the murder of the two patriotic brothers, John and Cornelius De Witt, by a mob at Amsterdam in 1672, on a false charge of conspiracy against the life of the Prince of Orange. The pamphlet contains the following allusion to Bishop Ken: "Amongst the collectors for the 'Holy Club' there must be *one Fellow* that eat King William's bread." "One of his arts was to persuade silly old women to tell down their dust for carrying on so pious a work," that is, "to work a mine under ground, in order to a general assault." The pamphlet had a large circulation, and accomplished to some extent its bad purpose of exciting to violence. An attack was made on the house of Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, in Old Street, London. He had timely notice to withdraw, and the mob, numbering some hundred and fifty persons, were soon dispersed by a magistrate backed by a company of the train band,

who happened to be on their way to a muster.

The serious nature of these accusations and the attention they received rendered it necessary for the Bishops to publish a denial. The Archbishop drew up a statement, which he forwarded to his associates. Bishop Ken wrote in reply from his Diocese, where he had remained during this whole season, having visited London for a few days only in January and June of this year, submitting a substitute. The "Declaration," which was soon after printed, is probably therefore, in part or whole, his composition. It was circulated with difficulty, as the government refused the licence then required by law for all printed publications.

In this Declaration, the Bishops "do solemnly, as in the presence of God, protest and declare" their ignorance of the authorship of the "New Liturgy," as the seditious prayers were called; of any correspondence with the French King or any of his ministers or agents.

We present the remainder of the document in full:

"We utterly deny, and disavow all Plots

charged upon us, or contrived or carried on, in our meetings at Lambeth; the intent thereof being to advise how, in our present difficulties, we might best keep consciences void of offence towards God and towards man. That we are so far from being the authors and abettors of England's miseries (whatever the spirit of lying and calumny may vent against us), that we do, and shall to our dying hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the peace, prosperity and glory of England; and shall always, by God's grace, make it our daily practice *to study to be quiet*, to bear our Cross patiently, and to seek the good of our Native Country.

"Who the author of this Libel is we know not; but whoever he is, we desire, as our Lord hath taught us, to return him good for evil; he barbarously endeavors to raise in the whole English nation such a fury as may end in *De Witting* us (a bloody word, but too well understood!). But we recommend him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him.

"We have, all of us, not long since, either actually or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in oppos-

ing Popery and arbitrary power in England; and we shall, by God's grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have, and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power of France, from coming upon us, and prevailing over us; the persecution of our Protestant brethren there being still fresh in our memories.

"It is our great unhappiness that we have not opportunity to publish full and particular answers to those many libels, which are industriously spread against us. But we hope that our country will never be moved to hate us without a cause, but will be so just and charitable to us as to believe this solemn protestation of our innocency."

The Declaration was signed by the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Norwich, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough. "We are well assured," they add, "of the concurrence of our absent Brother, the Bishop of Gloucester, as soon as the copy can be transmitted to him."

The high character of the Bishops carried instant conviction of the truth of their protest to the public mind. Many members of

Parliament were more than ever anxious to modify the act of Deprivation. The King and Queen had the same desire. Overtures were made by some of the conforming Bishops to the Archbishop, according to Lord Clarendon's Diary, to the effect that "the King would continue the deprived Bishops in their sees, and not put any others into their places; that they should enjoy their revenues; and that the King would make their Receivers his Receivers, to collect and pay the revenues to themselves."

Dr. Burnet was also sent by the Queen to a nobleman, the Earl of Rochester, a friend of the deprived Bishops, "to try whether, if Parliament could be brought to dispense with their taking the oaths," they would perform their Episcopal duties.

Bishop Ken was in favor of the acceptance of this proposal, which virtually conceded the point claimed by the non-jurors. He had, in accordance with his usual mildness, taken moderate ground during the contest. The Archbishop unfortunately gave the preference to the advice of Bishops Lloyd, Turner, and White, all partisans of James.

After an interval of two months the friendly

nobleman was obliged to report to Burnet, "that he had obeyed the Queen's commands with zeal, and all the skill he had ; but the Bishops would answer nothing, and promise nothing, only he believed they would be quiet. So all thoughts of bringing that matter again into Parliament," Burnet continues, "were laid aside, yet their Majesties proceeded in it slowly, and seemed unwilling to fill their sees."

Any further hopes of a settlement were soon after frustrated by the misconduct of Turner, Bishop of Ely. He was tempted, towards the close of the year, to join in a plot for the restoration of James by means of a French army. Lord Preston, one of the leaders, was seized on his way to France. Among the papers found in his custody were two letters from Bishop Turner. One contained this sentence: "I speak in the plural, because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and the rest of the family, though lessened in number."

Turner secreted himself to escape arrest. He writes from his hiding place to the Archbishop:

"Nothing troubles me so much as that my intercepted letters (through the almost



incredible supineness of the unhappy gentleman, and contrary to the assurances he gave us) may prejudice my brethren. But you must take pains to clear yourselves, and protest your ignorance." "Do what you will, and whatever you think most expedient to take off any blame from yourselves, and leave me to shift for myself. Were I near, this business should bring no further trouble upon my brethren."

These sentences seem to exculpate "the eldest brother and the rest of the family" from any active participation in the matter. Ken, we may be assured, had nothing to do with it, as he was during the whole time at home, occupied with his diocesan duties.

Bishop Turner was planning a flight from the country when the King, after an examination of Preston, which proved the conspiracy, refused to investigate the matter any further and granted a pardon to those implicated.

The oaths of allegiance now seemed more than ever necessary for the security of the government. Another attempt was however made to accommodate the issue with the Bishops. A proposal was made that they

should disclaim any connection with the late conspiracy, and that they should still receive a portion of their revenues. It was communicated to the Archbishop, but produced no effect.

## CHAPTER XXV.

SUCCESSORS APPOINTED TO THE NON-JURING BISHOPS—  
DR. BEVERIDGE—DR. KIDDER ACCEPTS THE DIOCESE OF  
BATH AND WELLS—BISHOP KEN'S PROTEST—HIS POSI-  
TION—HIS LIBERALITY AND SIMPLE MODE OF LIFE—IN-  
TERCOURSE WITH THE RICH—ACCEPTS A HOME FROM A  
FRIEND—LONGLEAT—LORD WEYMOUTH—DR. THOMAS  
BRAY—DR. SMITH'S LETTER—BISHOP KEN'S REPLY—  
THE BISHOP'S ROOM AT LONGLEAT.

IT was now determined that the Act of Par-  
liament must take its course, and successors  
were appointed to the non-juring Bishops.  
The see of Bath and Wells was offered to Dr.  
William Beveridge, chaplain to William and  
Mary, a sound and excellent divine. Dr.  
Beveridge, after devoting three weeks to a  
careful consideration, declined the office. He  
entertained the highest veneration for Dr.  
Ken, and was doubtful of the power of Par-  
liament to interfere with the exercise of eccle-  
siastical duties.

Dr. Richard Kidder, Dean of Peterborough,  
a divine of respectable standing, but by no

means the equal either of Ken or Beveridge, was next appointed, and, after some hesitation, accepted. He was consecrated at Bow Church, London, on the 30th of August, 1691, by the new Archbishop of Canterbury; three other of the newly appointed Bishops, with Bishop Burnet, assisting. Dr. Ken protested publicly in his Cathedral, from his pastoral chair, against the act, and repeated his protest in public in the market-place of Wells. He then quietly retired.

We can readily imagine his sad thoughts as he quitted his home. His official life must have been happy. He was beloved by every one in his Diocese. His success as a preacher was of the most brilliant description. High in favor with the Queen, highly respected by the King, popular with the nation, he could have looked forward to still higher dignity in the Church.

His home was in one of the most beautiful regions of England. His Cathedral still remains one of the architectural treasures of Christendom.

He had nothing, on the other hand, to look forward to but inaction and poverty. He had no inclination to go abroad and link his

fortunes with the exiled King, for he loved his country and her Protestant faith. He had no inclination to devote himself to intrigue or controversy. Both were alien to his open, generous, gentle nature.

He made a sacrifice, next to martyrdom, for principle. While we admire his self-denial and constancy, we are, however, compelled to regard him as one who abandoned himself to an unworthy cause. The flight of James and the subsequent action of Parliament, it seems to us, fully absolved him from his allegiance. A change in the succession was doubtless in itself unfortunate. He may have foreseen the long struggle maintained by James and his descendants to regain their position. He may have anticipated the renewal of the horrors of Sedgemoor at Culloden. He may have remembered Charles the Second in his days of exile, a reckless, shabby hanger-on at the Hague, and recoiled at a similar fate awaiting the new-born babe, an exile from his first hours of life.

He no doubt disputed the power of Parliament to interfere with the spiritual functions of a minister of the Church of England. They had not conferred his authority to ordain,

confirm, and govern. Their control, if control they had, was only over the revenues and civil functions of his office.

Dr. Ken had for several years enjoyed the large revenue of nine hundred pounds from his Diocese. Nothing now remained to him of this, for, as we have seen, he had always expended his surplus income in charity. His personal economy is sufficiently proved by the fact that the sale of his effects, with the exception only of his books, which he retained, produced but seven hundred pounds.

Immediately after his departure from Wells, Bishop Ken received the offer of a home at Longleat, the hospitable house of his old college friend, Thomas Thynne, now Viscount Weymouth. He had no false delicacy about accepting the proposal. He knew by noble past experience of hospitality, like mercy,

“It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.”

He had, in his days of prosperity, not scrupled to partake frequently of the good cheer of the wealthy, that he might the more readily feast the needy at his own table. He dined with Dives, that he might secure Lazarus a good supply of crumbs. To repeat the words already quoted, “he seemed to joy

with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at liberty to disperse the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers, which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction."

Longleat is but twenty miles distant from Wells, and shares in the beauty of its situation. The noble mansion, palatial in its proportions and magnificence, stands in a fine park, surrounded in part by water, in part by gardens filled with choice foreign and native flowers. It is spoken of by Mr. Macaulay as "then [in the reign of James II.], and perhaps still, the most magnificent country house in England."

The noble seat possessed a worthy master. His kindness to Bishop Ken has already warmed our hearts towards him; but he has other claims on our regard. We find him throughout his life a contributor to every good work. One instance of his liberality possesses an especial interest to American readers. He was the constant friend and benefactor of Dr. Thomas Bray, the Commissary of the Church in Maryland, a man well

entitled to rank as one of the founders of the Church in our Western world. Lord Weymouth presented Dr. Bray at one time with the large sum of three hundred pounds, on ascertaining that the generous missionary had expended nearly the whole of his own small means on the cause dear to his heart. A large portion of this aid was soon devoted to the same object. He also contributed largely to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in a great measure by the exertions of Dr. Bray—a society to whose aid almost all of our old ante-revolutionary parishes owe their foundation. His more private charities were equally liberal and judicious.

We have a pleasant insight into this phase of his character in a passage of a letter from a worthy recipient of his bounty, the Rev. Dr. Smith, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter. The letter is addressed to Dr. Ken.

“MY LORD—I went, sometime since, to make my just and grateful acknowledgments to my Lord W., but he soon stopped my mouth, which readily convinced me that he governs himself by true principles of Chris-



tianity, and that he does keep firm in his memory the words of the Lord Jesus, in that divine aphorism, preserved by St. Paul, that it is more blessed to give than to receive, than in this Lord's opinion to receive so much, or rather so little, as thanks."

Bishop Ken replies :

"I am very glad that you were with the good Lord. He does really conduct his life by the divine maxims recorded by St. Paul, and he is truly rich in good works, and indeed so are his near relations ; munificence seems to be the family virtue, and traduced\* to their posterity."

He was also a public benefactor, from his fondness for planting trees. He set out in one year ten thousand of various kinds at Longleat. He was a great lover and collector of books, and brought to England the celebrated Bedford Missal, one of the finest illuminated volumes in the world. It is now in the library of the British Museum.

These were virtues and tastes akin to those of his guest. They agreed so well together that the deprived Bishop continued under

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\* The word is used in its old and exact meaning, of handed down.

the nobleman's roof for the remainder of his life, the long period of twenty years. To relieve the Bishop from any painful feeling of obligation, Lord Weymouth received his seven hundred pounds, allowing him for it an annuity of eighty pounds a year.

A large and pleasant room at the top of the house, retired from the noise of a large household, was assigned to his accommodation. Here he assembled his books, and devoted himself to quiet literary pursuits. The parish church of Horningham was not far distant, and the walk to it led over a gentle elevation commanding a view through an opening in the woods, called, from its exceeding loveliness, "The Gate of Heaven."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REMAINING NON-JURING BISHOPS—ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT—WASHBALLS AND RAZORS—CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS BY THE NON-JURORS—BISHOP KEN'S DISAPPROVAL—LETTERS TO DR. HICKES AND BISHOP FRAMPTON—DR. LEE—SCRUPLES RESPECTING ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH—DR. KETTLEWELL'S MODERATE COUNSELS APPROVED BY BISHOP KEN—CHURCH PRAYERS AND STATE PRAYERS.

THE remainder of the non-juring Bishops bore their deprivation less tranquilly than Dr. Ken. Several of them were in correspondence with the deposed James. Regarding the successors to their Dioceses as schismatical, they determined to consecrate bishops from among the clergy of their own views. The scheme was communicated to James, who consulted the Pope, who, but too happy to promote dissension in the Church of England, advised James to approve. He did so, leaving the choice of candidates to Dr. Sancroft and Dr. Lloyd.

The venerable Archbishop had, after his de-

privation, stripped alike of honors and support, retired to his native village, the little hamlet of Fresingfield, in Suffolk. Dr. Lloyd, of Norwich, remained in London, to watch the progress of events and act as the late primate's agent, distributing his small alms to the needy, deprived clergy, and collecting the various pamphlets published by the non-juring party, the controversy being still continued. These were spoken of in their private correspondence, which exhibits many devices to mislead any who might pry into its contents, as "washballs and razors."

Dr. Sancroft still continued to be a warm partisan, and entered heartily into the ordination scheme. He died, however, before it could be carried into effect, about two years after his deprivation. Dr. Hickes and Thomas Wagstaffe were selected and ordained by Lloyd, Turner, and White, Suffragan Bishops of Thetford and Ipswich, towns in the Diocese of Norwich. A Suffragan is a Bishop, appointed to act under the control of another Bishop, within a certain district. The English Bishops are all within the Provinces of York and Canterbury, and are thus styled, according to the positions of their Dioceses, Suffra-

gans of one of the two Archbishops. The consecration was private, and the fact kept secret for many years. The new Bishops did not attempt to perform any duties, and were enjoined by their appointment from performing any until after the death of the deprived Bishop of Norwich, an event which did not occur until fourteen years after. Bishop Ken disapproved of this measure, and did all in his power to prevent its execution, which he regarded as "a perpetuating of the schism." He remarked to Mr. Robert Nelson, one of the best men of the party, that "the strength of innocence is to sit still, and the wisest and most dutiful way, to follow, rather than anticipate, Providence."\*

He writes to Dr. Hickee on the 7th of March, 1700 :

"I wrote to you long ago, to recommend to your serious consideration the schism, which has so long continued in our Church, and which I have often lamented to my brother of Ely, now with God, and concerning which I have many years had ill abodings.

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\* Appendix to Kettlewell's Works, quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 644.

I need not tell you what pernicious consequences it may produce, and I fear has produced already, what advantage it yields to our enemies, what irreligion the abandoning of the public assemblies may cause in some, and what vexation it creates to tender consciences in the country, where they live banished from the house of God."

His letter to Dr. Frampton is in a similar vein—

"I allow all degrees of excusability to those who are of a different persuasion, and in the business of clandestine consecrations against which, you know, I always declared my judgment, I foresaw it would perpetuate the schism which I daily deplore, and I thought it insidiously procured by Melford\* for that purpose, who could intend no good to our Church, but I was forced at last to tolerate what I could not approve of."

The Bishop also expressed the same views in conversation with his friends. One of these, supposed to be Dr. Francis Lee, writes, in the anonymous *Life of Kettlewell* :

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\* Lord Melford, James' chief Roman Catholic adviser at St. Germain's, in France.

“Not long after the Revolution, when some of the Nonjurors were very big with great expectations, Bishop Ken was much displeased that any should flatter themselves with vain hopes, and declared to me with great earnestness and concern, as under a sort of divine impulse, that it was then but the beginning of evils, with a pretty deal to that purpose. But, notwithstanding that he could not himself comply with what, by the present settlement, was required of him, he had yet a very charitable opinion of many that did, and is known to have been against perpetuating a separation.”

In common with the rest of the non-jurors Dr. Ken was perplexed as to whether he should attend or abstain from the public services of the Church. The Liturgy now contained prayers for William and Mary. The more rigid of the party held that to unite in these supplications was as criminal as to take the oath of allegiance; that the use of prayers for usurpers was schismatic; and to join in worship or sacrament with the clergy thus offending was an equally grave offence.

One of the best men among the non-jurors,

Dr. Kettlewell, advocated in his work entitled "Christian Communion" a more moderate course. The non-juring clergy in his view could not attend the public service. It was their duty to conduct worship, and they could always quietly gather together "two or three" at the proper time for the purpose.

This was a course not open to the laity, where, as in most places, no non-juring clergyman could be found. They were therefore recommended to attend the ordinary worship, but were bound to express by some sign their dissent from the "immoral prayers" for William and Mary.

Another author of the party, Mr. Pitts, in his "Character of a Primitive Bishop, in a Letter to a Non-juror," expressly asserts that Bishop Ken held these views. His own letter to the deprived Bishop of Norwich furnishes a still more direct testimony.

"I find that I am misinterpreted by some of the brethren, and am charged with giving advice concerning Communion contrary to our Mother,\* whereas the only advice I have given was to recommend the two last chapters of good Mr. Kettlewell's book to people's

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\* The Church.



reading. I was always of his opinion, and wished that our brethren had not stated the question on higher terms; and I approved of the book in manuscript."

He repeats these views in another letter, adding, "Our brother of Ely, now with God, had the like thoughts, and gave the like advice to a worthy person, now near me in the country, who related it to me; and I always thought, and said, that stricter measures would be of fatal consequences to our Church, for which many of my brethren would never relish me."

Dr. Ken's own practice at this period is uncertain. In a letter to the Bishop of Norwich he recommends a public declaration, and recounting its advantages, he urges: "A letter to this purpose would make our presence at some of the prayers rightly understood to be no betraying of our cause." Another letter, to Dr. Lloyd, draws a distinction, insisted upon by all the members of the party, between the ordinary services of the Church and special prayers or days of worship appointed by the government: "I never use any characteristic in the prayers myself, nor am present when any is read."

These passages, though they do not settle the question for us, render a service by their testimony to the honorable debate in his mind between the necessity of consistency in the course he had adopted, and a love which no party considerations could obscure, for the peace of the Church.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

BISHOP KEN'S CONTINUED LIBERALITY—HIS PERSONAL ECONOMY—LETTER TO DR. SMITH, AND THE REPLY—A SCHOLAR IN WANT—EXPELLED MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—FUND FOR THE NEEDY NON-JURORS—DEATH OF MR. KETTLEWELL—HIS CHARACTER—BISHOP KEN READS THE SERVICE AT HIS FUNERAL—MR. NELSON'S PREFACE TO MR. KETTLEWELL'S SERMONS.

THE small income of eighty pounds a year, although amply sufficient to supply Bishop Ken's simple personal wants, left little to answer any calls beyond these. We find him, however, as in his more prosperous days, still intent upon the wants of the needy. He declines, in a letter to Dr. Lloyd, a journey to London, as "being consistent neither with my purse, nor convenience, nor health, nor inclination," and in a second letter says :

"When I told you that a London journey was not agreeable to my purse, it was no pretence, but a real truth. I am not able to sup-

port the expense of it, which all that know my condition will easily believe. I thank God I have enough to bring the year about, while I remain in the country, and this is as much as I desire. I have often been offered money for myself, but always refused it, and never take any but to distribute, and in the country I have nothing now for that good use put into my hands."

He writes in a similar vein to Dr. William Smith, a learned and worthy divine, who, although expelled from Magdalen College by James the Second, still considered his allegiance unbroken to the fallen monarch. Dr. Smith, often in need himself, was active in soliciting aid for his suffering, deprived brethren.

"Living so long and so much in the country, I have no charitable contributions put into my hands, but of my own I can spare you the contents of the following note, which you would oblige me by accepting.\*

"I give you thanks for your kind acceptance of the little I could do for you. If you want me at any time, I entreat you to let me

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\* Round's Prose Works of Ken, pp. 56, 89.

know it. I discoursed with my Lord concerning you. He has a just value for you, and has sent you a token. If you will call on Mr. Brome, the bookseller, he has ten pounds for you, for which, by this good Lord's order, I sent him a note.\*

"I entreat you to let me know, with the freedom of a friend, when you are in any strait, or want supplies, to carry on your labors of love for the public."

Six months after he sends five pounds "as a token of the real respect I have for you. I can, thanks be to God, very well spare it, and I entreat you to oblige me by accepting it."

Dr. Smith replies, accompanying his thanks by a statement of his condition, a touching picture of "learning in beggary:"

"I hasten to make my grateful acknowledgments for the contents of your last letter, and next, to unburthen myself that I was extremely surprised, not to say almost confounded, *stupito e stordito*, as the Italian phrase is, with the excessive kindness of your repeated present; which, considering

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\* Round's Prose Works of Ken, pp. 56, 89.

the narrowness of your own circumstances, I made it a scruple of conscience whether I could fairly receive, though you were pleased in your letter to obviate that doubt by telling me *that you can very well spare it*. I would not willingly forfeit that good opinion your Lordship may have of my humility and discreet behavior by refusing your beneficence, as if I did not thoroughly enough consider the sacredness and dignity of your order, and the meanness of my station in the Church ; but it concerns me, however, to say that I blessed God that since the iniquity of the times deprived me of my fellowship, and a little prebend of £20 a year, I have been supported by the kindness of a brother, with whom I have lived for almost nineteen years together ; and besides this, I humbly adore the Divine Providence that by the advantage of books, such as they are, which I have published, and by the kind presents of friends, I have been furnished—all other expenses fully adjusted—with a small overplus of money to buy, upon occasion, books necessary in the way of my study, and which I can no more live without than without my daily bread.”

On another occasion he writes to Dr. Ken,

asking him to represent the needs of a widow, left destitute with two daughters, to Lord Weymouth. The Bishop replies :

“I entreat you to permit me to send you, now and then, some testimony of my esteem, which I can well spare, and, indeed, considering your labors of love and learning, all your friends can give you is given to the public. I cannot tell whether I should condole or congratulate your goutish distemper, for some are of opinion that it prolongs life, and for that reason wish for it, and your friends will be glad for anything which will prolong a life so very useful.”

Let us hope that this oddly-contrived compliment may have in some measure alleviated the good Doctor's twinges. The Bishop continues :

“I am sorry for good Lady Dutton and her daughters. I beseech God to support them. If, when you go into the city, you call on Breme, the bookseller, he will pay you fifty shillings which I design for them, though I desire you to make no mention from whence it came. I intend to mention you to my Lord when I have a fair opportunity.”

Dr. Smith's letters also bear witness to

Bishop Ken's charitable regard for the destitute members of the Church of Scotland, thrust out of their livings by the establishment by the new government of Presbyterianism as the state sect of that country.

"I know your Lordship's generous and truly Christian compassion and concern for that grievously afflicted and persecuted Church, and the distressed clergy thereof, and how ready and zealous you have been upon all occasions, suggested and offered, to promote this great duty of our religion, and to recommend to the humanity, to the good-nature, to the charity, to the bounty of devout persons of your acquaintance especially of a distinguishing character and quality, whom God has blessed with plentiful fortunes and estates, and who abound in the good things of this life, the sad and woful condition of such as suffer for conscience' and righteousness' sake."

This was written in 1701, some time after the period with which we are at present concerned.

The great body of the non-juring clergy of England, suddenly deprived of their liv-



ings and debarred from the exercise of their profession, soon suffered from poverty. Their wants became so pressing that, in 1694, Mr. John Kettlewell prepared the "Model of a Fund of Charity for the needy, suffering Clergy." By this plan the deprived Bishops were, in a Pastoral Letter, to invite all charitably disposed persons to contribute to a fund. The Bishops, with assistants selected by themselves, were to control and distribute the aid received.

Dr. Ken, with his fellow Bishops, at once agreed to the scheme. Its execution was, however, delayed by the sickness and death of its founder. The symptoms of consumption had been observed in his constitution from his twelfth year. Infirm health had not, however, prevented him from leading a life of usefulness. He was an intimate friend and close follower of Bishop Ken. In the words of his biographer :

"There was such an harmony betwixt the spirit of one and the other of these excellent persons in relation to their pastoral and ministerial duties, as hardly there could be greater ; the good Bishop, upon all proper occasions, expressing the solid esteem he had

for Mr. Kettlewell, and for his judicious and pious works."

We have already spoken of his agreement with Bishop Ken in moderating the party zeal of the non-jurors. His course on this point was in harmony with the peaceful and holy tenor of his life.

In the happy language of another of his friends, and a most worthy man, Robert Nelson, he was "learned without pride ; wise and judicious without cunning ; he served at the altar without either covetousness or ambition ; he was devout without affectation ; sincerely religious without moroseness ; courteous and affable, without flattery or mean compliances ; just without rigor ; charitable, without vanity, and heartily zealous for the interest of religion without faction."

Mr. Kettlewell was attended in his last hours by Dr. Lloyd, from whom he received the Holy Communion, with Mr. Bell and others. Bishop Ken gave a touching proof of his affection by reading, probably at his own request, as Mr. Bell had been previously appointed, the burial service, in his Episcopal robes, over his deceased friend. He also read the entire evening service. It is the only re-

corded instance of his performance of any public ministerial duty during the many years following his deprivation.

A volume of Mr. Kettlewell's sermons, with a biographical preface by Mr. Robert Nelson, was published after his death. The Bishop, acknowledging the gift of a copy, thus eulogizes his friend :

“He was certainly as saint-like a man as ever I knew, and his books are demonstrations of it, which are full of as solid and searching a piety as ever I read. God was pleased to take him from the evil to come, to his own infinite advantage, but to our great loss.”

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

“THE CHARITABLE RECOMMENDATION OF THE DEPRIVED BISHOPS”—A PLOT AGAINST THE KING—BISHOP KEN ARRESTED AND EXAMINED—HIS DEFENCE—CHARITY TO POLITICAL OPPONENTS—“BEGGING IS NO PART OF ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION.”

THE appeal proposed by Mr. Kettlewell bears date July 22, 1695, about three months after his death. It is brief, simple, and to the purpose.

“The Charitable Recommendation of the *Deprived Bishops*.

“*To all Christian people, to whom this Charitable Recommendation shall be presented, Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ.*

“Whereas We, the present Deprived Bishops of this Church, have certain information that many of our *Deprived Brethren* of the Clergy, their wives, children, and families, are reduced to extreme want, and unable to support themselves and their several charges

without the charitable relief of pious and well-disposed Christians ; and being earnestly moved by several of them to represent their distressed condition to the mercy and compassion of such tender-hearted persons as are inclined to commiserate and relieve the afflicted servants of God :—Now We, in compliance with their intreaty, and with all due regard to their *suffering* circumstances, have thought it our duty (as far as in *law* we may) heartily to recommend their necessitous condition to all pious, good people ; hoping and praying that they will take their case into their serious consideration, and putting on the bowels of Charity, extend their Alms to them and their needy families.

“ And we will not cease to pray for a Blessing upon such their Benefactors ; and remain, in all Christian offices,

“ *Yours,*

|                                   |                         |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| William, Bishop of Norwich,       | } Now<br>de-<br>prived. |
| Robert, Bishop of Gloucester,     |                         |
| Francis, Bishop of Ely,           |                         |
| Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, |                         |
| Thomas, Bishop of Peterborough,   |                         |

The sentence, “ *as far as in law we may,*” was inserted at the suggestion of legal friends, ,

to avoid any objection on the part of the government. The document would have doubtless been received with favor as an appropriate appeal to the charitable, but for the discovery, about the time of its publication, of a plot to assassinate the King. This naturally rendered the government suspicious. The Privy Council, fancying perhaps that "more was meant than met the ear" in the paper we have quoted, ordered the arrest of its signers. They were all, however, discharged after a brief investigation. During the examination of Bishop Ken, he was requested to reduce his answers to writing. He did this in so happy a manner that the record forms one of the best examples of his clear and graceful style. It is, in addition to this, so beautiful an unconscious presentation of his character, that we give the paper entire.

*"The Answer of THOMAS Bath and Wells, deprived, to certain Interrogatories proposed to him by the Lords of the Privy Council.*

*"April 28, 1696.*

*"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.*

*"After the favorable hearing which this day the Lords of the most Honorable Privy*

Council gave me, Mr. Bridgman came out to me to tell me that their Lordships expected a copy of my answers ; which, as far as I can recollect, I here humbly offer to your Lordships.

“The printed paper subscribed by the deprived Bishops, to beg the alms of charitable people, being shewed me, I was asked,

“ ‘ Did you subscribe this paper ? ’

“ A. My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect, for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfilled by it ; and what we were not able to do ourselves, was done by others ; the hungry were fed, and the naked were clothed ; and to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to visit those who are sick or in prison, is that plea which all your Lordships, as well as I, as far as you have had opportunities, must make for yourselves at the great day. And that which you must all plead at God’s tribunal for your eternal Absolution shall not, I hope, be made my condemnation here.

“It was then said to this purpose : ‘ No one here condemns charity, but the way you have taken to procure it ; your paper is illegal.’

“A. My Lords, I can plead to the evangelical part: I am no lawyer, but shall want lawyers to plead that; and I have been very well assured that it is legal. My Lords, I will sincerely give your Lordships an account of the part I had in it. The first person who proposed it to me was Mr. Kettlewell, that holy man who is now with God; and after some time it was brought to this form, and I subscribed it, and then went into the country to my retirement in an obscure village, where I live above the suspicion of giving any the least umbrage to the Government.

“My Lords, I was not active in making collections in the country, where there are but few such objects of charity, but good people of their own accord sent me towards four-score pounds, of which above one half is still in my hands.

“I beg your Lordships to observe this clause in our paper: ‘As far as in Law we may;’ and to receive such charity is, I presume, ‘which in law I may;’ and to distribute it is a thing also ‘which in law I may.’

“It was objected to this purpose: ‘This money has been abused and given to very ill



and immoral men, and particularly to one who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue silk waistcoat another.'

"A. My Lords, to give to an ill man may be a mistake, and no crime, unless what was given was given him to an ill purpose; nay, to give to an ill man and knowingly, is our duty, if that ill man wants necessaries of life; for as long as God's patience and forbearance indulges that ill man life to lead him to repentance, we ought to support that life God indulges him, hoping for the happy effect of it.

"My Lords, in King James's time, there were about a thousand or more imprisoned in my Diocese who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men and void of all religion; and yet, for all that, I thought it my duty to relieve them.

"'Tis well known to the Diocese that I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supplied them with necessaries myself, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same, and yet King James never found the least fault with me. And if I am now charged

with misapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordships that St. Paul's Apostolical rule may be observed: 'Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses;' for I am sure none can testify that against me. What I gave I gave in the country, and I gave to none but those who did both want and deserve it; the last that I gave was to two poor widows of deprived clergymen, one whereof was left with six, the other with seven small children.

"It was said to this purpose: 'You are not charged yourself with giving to ill men, though it has been done by others; but the paper comes out with a pretence of authority, and it is illegal, and in the nature of a brief; and if such practices are permitted, private men may supersede all the briefs granted by the King.'

"A. My Lords, I beg your pardon, if I cannot give a full answer to this; I am no lawyer, and am not prepared to argue it in law.

"It was further objected to this purpose: 'By sending forth this paper, you have usurped Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.'

"A. My Lords, I never heard that beg-

ging was a part of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us.

“ I make no doubt but your Lordships may have had strange misinformation concerning this paper ; but having sincerely told you what part I had in it, I humbly submit myself to your Lordships’ justice.

“ I presume your Lordships will come to no immediate resolution concerning me ; and having voluntarily surrendered myself, and the warrant having never been served on me till I had twice attended here, this being the third time, and my health being infirm, I beg the favor of your Lordships that I may return to my sister’s house, where I have hitherto lodged, which is a place the messenger knows well ; and that I may be no otherwise confined, till I have received your Lordships’ final resolution.

“ This favor your Lordships were pleased very readily to grant me ; for which I return my humble acknowledgments, beseeching God to be gracious to your Lordships.

“ THOMAS BATH AND WELLS,

“ *Deprived.*”

The author of the Life of Kettlewell hap-

pily remarks of these answers : “ Bishop Ken, upon his examination, made such an apology for the part he had in it as was irresistible, his answers being those of a true Christian Bishop.”

## CHAPTER XXIX.

NEW OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE REQUIRED—BISHOP KEN'S  
LETTERS TO MR. HARBIN—DEATHS OF BISHOP WHITE,  
OF PETERBOROUGH, AND DR. FITZWILLIAM—REQUEST TO  
BISHOP KEN—DEATH OF BISHOP TURNER, OF ELY—  
BISHOP KEN'S EFFORTS TO CLOSE THE NON-JURING  
SCHISM—DEATHS OF JAMES AND WILLIAM—QUEEN  
ANNE—THE NON-JURORS' HOPES—BISHOP FRAMPTON'S  
LETTER—BISHOP KEN URGED TO RESUME HIS OFFICE—  
CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP LLOYD—DR. HOOPER,  
BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH'S.

THE plot to which we have referred, with the constant apprehension caused to the government by the treasonable correspondence maintained by disaffected persons with James, led to an Act requiring all persons to abjure their allegiance to the late King. Bishop Ken, on a visit to Winchester, writes to his friend Mr. Harbin, the chaplain at Longleat, respecting the new Test :

“ I am *troubled* to see the nation likely to be involved in new UNIVERSAL OATHS, but hope they will be imposed on none but

those who were employed or promoted in Church and State."

Again :

"You will do me the kindness to set me at ease about it, and let me know whether it will be *enforced*. It is an Oath *I shall never take*. I will rather leave the Kingdom, old and infirm as I am."

The oath does not appear to have been required of him.

In the year 1698 the Bishop was deprived by death of his friend Dr. White, the Bishop of Peterborough. In the following year he lost a more intimate associate, Dr. John Fitzwilliam, the deprived rector of Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire. He succeeded Mr. Ken as the rector of Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight, and ever after spoke of him as his "ever dear friend," "spiritual guide," and "truly honored father." He was the intimate friend and correspondent of Lady Russell. In his will he appoints "my ever dear friend, and now my truly honored father," Bishop Ken, his sole executor, and bequeaths to him the interest of £500 for his life, the principal sum to be paid after his death to Magdalen College, Oxford. He also leaves

him fifteen pounds "to buy him mourning," a ring, and a few articles of furniture.

Another leader of the non-jurors, Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, died in 1700. As we have seen, he was a violent partisan of James II. Dr. Ken did not sympathize with his extreme views, but respected the man. He refers to him, after his death, as "the Bishop of Ely, now with God."

In the beginning of the following year Dr. Ken made another effort to unite the two parties in the Church. He wrote to Dr. Hicke, deprived Dean of Worcester, proposing that Dr. Frampton, Dr. Lloyd, and himself, the only three non-juring bishops remaining, should resign their ecclesiastical claims; or, if this should not be deemed advisable, that they should unite in a circular letter "which should modestly and yet resolutely assist the cause for which we suffer, and declare that our opinion is still the same in regard to Passive Obedience, and specify the reasons which induced us to communicate in the Public Offices, the chiefest of which is to restore the peace of the Church, which is of that importance that it ought to supersede all ecclesiastical canons, they being

only of human, and not divine authority. A letter to this purpose would make our presence at some of the prayers rightly understood to be no betraying of our cause ; would guard us against any advantage our adversaries may take from our Christian condescension ; would relieve fundamental charity, and give a general satisfaction to all well-minded persons."

Dr. Hickes was too decided a partisan to be moved.

Great changes soon after occurred in high places. James II. died at St. Germain's, the palace hospitably assigned as his residence by the French king, on the 6th of Sept., 1701. His son-in-law, William III., followed him on the 8th of March, 1702. The Princess Anne succeeded to the throne.

The non-jurors now anticipated more favorable treatment from the accession of a Queen known to be sincerely attached to the Church. Dr. Lloyd wrote to Dr. Ken, requesting him to unite in a conference at London. The Bishop, convinced that the leaders of the party were unwilling to propose or accede to any compromise, and weary of controversy, declined the proposal. Bishop



Frampton was too old and infirm to be consulted. A letter, written about this time, in which he acknowledges the receipt of a ring, bequeathed to him by Dr. Fitzwilliam, exhibits his condition in a touching manner. It reads like the "*nunc dimittis*" of an expiring confessor. We extract a portion :

"The ring, to be sure, shall be preserved with care, out of the reverence that I bear and owe both to the living and the dead.\* But it is not likely to stay long with me, because I am not likely to stay long with it; hasting amain, as I do towards my exit out of this world ; for which God be praised.

"By His gracious assistance I hope to keep steady to my principles to the very last gasp. Be pleased to assist me by your pious prayers, that so it may be, and all is well. Mine age is great, almost fourscore ; mine infirmities are many, and every day increasing, which, by the help of meditation, perpetually mind me that it is not good for me to be any longer here, where I am no longer able to do good to others."

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\* Referring to Bishop Ken, who had sent the ring, as executor.

Bishop Ken, though willing to abandon his ecclesiastical pretensions for the sake of the Church's peace, remained firm on the question of allegiance. He writes to Dr. Lloyd in 1703 :

"I shall spend this summer, God willing, mostly at Longleat, though I am now very uneasy there ; not but that my Lord is very kind to me, but because I cannot go to the prayers there, by reason of the late alterations, which is no small affliction to me." He alludes to the prayers for the monarch, which had been omitted during the reign of William and lifetime of James. Lord Weymouth having taken office at the accession of Queen Anne, and thus identified himself with the government, very properly restored the prayers for his sovereign. He showed his respect and regard for his friend by proposing, on the first vacancy of a diocese, that of Carlisle, the transfer of Bishop Kidder to the See, and the restoration of Bishop Ken to Bath and Wells. The arrangement was made, but the offer declined by Dr. Ken, on the ground of objection to the oath, and of his failing health.

During the summer, Bishop Ken corre-

sponded frequently with Bishop Lloyd. The two friends had been somewhat estranged by the difference of their views as to the extent to which the non-juring principle should be carried out. Lloyd would probably have now united with Ken in a relinquishment of their Episcopal office but for his committal to the extreme party by participation in the secret consecrations we have already mentioned.

The Bishopric of St. Asaph at this time became vacant. It was filled, greatly to the delight of Bishop Ken, by the appointment of his friend Dr. Hooper, Dean of Canterbury, to the office.

## CHAPTER XXX.

DRYDEN AND PEPYS—THE “GOOD PARSON”—THE GREAT STORM—BISHOP KEN’S ACCOUNT OF IT—DEATH OF BISHOP KIDDER AND HIS WIFE—BISHOP KEN OFFERED THE VACANT DIOCESE—HIS FAILING HEALTH—URGES BISHOP HOOPER TO ACCEPT THE OFFICE—LETTERS TO BISHOP LLOYD—BISHOP KEN, ON BISHOP HOOPEE’S ACCEPTANCE, RESIGNS HIS ECCLESIASTICAL CLAIMS.

IN the year 1700, John Dryden, the leading poet of the time, published “The Character of a Good Parson,” in imitation of a celebrated description of a similar kind in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. Bishop Ken is supposed to have been the living original from whom Dryden drew his beautiful portrait. The resemblance may be traced in many passages. An additional proof seems to be furnished in a letter by Mr. Pepys in reply to one from Dryden, thanking him for having pointed out the “character” in Chaucer, and submitting his new version. Pepys expresses the hope “from this copy of one good parson to fancy some amends made for

the hourly offence I bear with from the sight of so many lewd originals." We have had so many evidences of the writer's acquaintance with, and respect for, Bishop Ken, that we cannot but believe the chaplain of the Tangier fleet to have been the "one good parson" in his mind. Fortified by these internal and external evidences, we present the poem :

#### THE CHARACTER OF A GOOD PARSON.

A parish priest was of the pilgrim train,  
An awful, reverend, and religious man  
His eyes diffus'd a venerable grace,  
And charity itself was in his face.  
Rich was his soul, though his attire was poor ;  
(As God had cloth'd his own ambassador :)  
For such, on earth, his bless'd Redeemer bore.  
Of sixty years he seem'd ; and well might last  
To sixty more, but that he liv'd too fast ;  
Refin'd himself to soul, to curb the sense,  
And made almost a sin of abstinence.  
Yet had his aspect nothing of severe,  
But such a face as promis'd him sincere.  
Nothing reserv'd or sullen was to see,  
But sweet regards, and pleasing sanctity ;  
Mild was his accent, and his action free.  
With eloquence innate his tongue was arm'd ;  
Though harsh the precept, yet the preacher charm'd.  
For, letting down the golden chain from high,  
He drew his audience upward to the sky.

And oft, with holy hymns, he charm'd their ears :  
 (A music more melodious than the spheres.)  
 For David left him, when he went to rest,  
 His lyre, and after him he sung the best.  
 He bore his great commission in his look ;  
 But sweetly temper'd awe, and soften'd all he spoke.  
 He preach'd the joys of heaven and pains of hell,  
 And warn'd the sinner with becoming zeal ;  
 But on eternal mercy lov'd to dwell.  
 He taught the gospel rather than the law,  
 And forc'd himself to drive, but lov'd to draw.

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The tithes, his parish freely paid, he took ;  
 But never su'd, or curs'd with bell and book.  
 With patience bearing wrong, but offering none :  
 Since every man is free to lose his own.  
 The country churls, according to their kind,  
 (Who grudge their dues, and love to be behind,)  
 The less he sought his offerings, pinch'd the more,  
 And prais'd a priest contented to be poor.

Yet of his little he had some to spare,  
 To feed the famish'd, and to clothe the bare :  
 For mortified he was to that degree,  
 A poorer than himself he would not see.  
 True priests, he said, and preachers of the word,  
 Were only stewards of their sovereign Lord ;  
 Nothing was theirs, but all the public store :  
 Intrusted riches, to relieve the poor.  
 Who, should they steal, for want of his relief,  
 He judg'd himself accomplice with the thief.  
 Wide was his parish ; not contracted close  
 In streets, but here and there a straggling house ;  
 Yet still he was at hand, without request,

To serve the sick ; to succor the distress'd :  
 Tempting on foot, alone, without affright,  
 The dangers of a dark, tempestuous night.

All this the good old man perform'd alone,  
 Nor spared his pains, for curate he had none.  
 Nor durst he trust another with his care,  
 Nor rode himself to Paul's, the public fair,  
 To chaffer for preferment with his gold,  
 Where bishoprics and sinecures are sold ;  
 But duly watch'd his flock, by night and day,  
 And from the prowling wolf redeem'd the prey,  
 And hungry sent the wily fox away.

The proud he tam'd, the penitent he cheer'd ;  
 Nor to rebuke the rich offender fear'd.  
 His preaching much, but more his practice wrought ;  
 (A living sermon of the truths he taught.)

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Such was the saint, who shone with every grace,  
 Reflecting, Moses like, his Maker's face.  
 God saw his image lively was express'd,  
 And his own work, as in creation, bless'd.  
 The tempter saw him too with envious eye ;  
 And, as on Job, demanded leave to try.  
 He took the time when Richard was deposed,  
 And high and low with happy Harry clos'd.  
 This prince, though great in arms, the priest withstood,  
 Near though he was, yet not the next of blood.  
 Had Richard, unconstrain'd, resign'd the throne,  
 A king can give no more than is his own :  
 The title stood entail'd, had Richard had a son.

Conquest, an odious name, was laid aside,  
 Where all submitted, none the battle tried ;

The senseless plea of right by Providence,  
Was, by a flattering priest, invented since ;  
And lasts no longer than the present sway,  
But justifies the next who comes in play.

The people's right remains ; let those who dare  
Dispute their power, when they the judges are.  
He join'd not in their choice, because he knew  
Worse might, and often did, from change ensue.  
Much to himself he thought, but little spoke  
And, undpriv'd, his benefice forsook.

Now through the land his cure of souls he stretched,  
And like a primitive apostle preach'd :  
Still cheerful ; ever constant to his call ;  
By many follow'd ; lov'd by most ; admir'd by all.  
With what he begg'd his brethren he reliev'd,  
And gave the charities himself receiv'd.  
Gave, while he taught ; and edified the more,  
Because he show'd, by proof, 'twas easy to be poor.

In less than a month after Bishop Hooper's consecration, an event occurred, serious in itself and important in its consequences to the Church of England. A terrible storm swept over England during the night of the 26th of November, 1703. Daniel De Foe published a vivid account of its ravages. Four thousand trees were blown down in the New Forest. The Eddystone Lighthouse, with its inmates, was destroyed. Twelve ships of war were wrecked. The destruction



of life was fearful, eight thousand persons, it is estimated, having perished. Property to the value of four million pounds was involved in ruin.

Bishop Ken was at the time on a visit to his nephew Isaac Walton, at Poulshot, and narrowly escaped destruction. He describes the scene within doors to his friend Bishop Lloyd :

“Last night there was here the most violent wind that ever I knew ; the house shook all the night : we all rose, and called the family to prayers, and by the goodness of God we were safe amidst the storm. It has done a great deal of hurt in the neighborhood, and all about, which we cannot yet hear of ; but I fear it has been very terrible at sea, and that we shall hear of many wrecks there. Blessed be God who preserved us.”

He writes again on the 18th of December :

“I think I omitted to tell you the full of my deliverance in the late storm, for the house being searched the day following, the workmen found that the beam which supported the roof over my head was shaken out to that degree, that it had but half an inch hold, so that it was a wonder it could hold together ;

for which signal and particular preservation God's holy name be ever praised! I am sure I ought always thankfully to remember it. God keep us in his holy fear."

The parsonage proved safer than the palace. One of the most terrible incidents of this fearful night occurred at Wells. Bishop Kidder and his wife were both killed in their bedroom by the fall of a stack of chimneys, crushing in the roof over their heads.

Bishop Ken narrates the occurrence without remark to Dr. Lloyd.

"The storm on Friday night, which was the most violent, I mentioned in my last, but I then did not know what happened at Wells, which was much shattered, and that part of the palace where Bishop Kidder and his wife lay, was blown down in the night, and they were both killed and buried in the ruins, and dug out towards morning. It happened on the very day of the Cloth fair, when all the country were spectators of the deplorable calamity, and soon spread the sad story. God of his infinite mercy deliver us from such dreadful surprises! I am assured that no one either in the palace, or in the whole town, beside them, had any hurt. God keep us

in His holy fear, and our dwellings in safety." The quiet tone of this letter seems at first to clash with the author's constant sympathy for sorrow and misfortune. We must remember that Dr. Kidder was a stranger to him at the time of his appointment, and that, from their peculiar position, they probably seldom, if ever, met. He had been much offended throughout Dr. Kidder's administration at his lax conduct respecting rubrical observances, and other matters of importance.

Besides this, under the first pressure of a widespread calamity, the mind is often occupied in grasping its extent rather than in contemplation of its details, however affecting. This may have been the case in the present instance.

Several candidates soon appeared for the vacant Bishopric. The Queen, however, sent for Dr. Hooper and offered him the post. "He expressed his thanks to her Majesty, but begged to be excused, as he could by no means eat the bread of so old a friend as Bishop Ken had been to him, and entreated her Majesty's leave to propose to her the restoring him to his Bishopric again."\* The Queen approved,

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\* MS. Life of Hooper by Mrs. Prowse, quoted in the "Life of Ken," p. 710.

thanked him for the suggestion, and directed him to make the offer to Bishop Ken.

Bishop Hooper was anxious to reinstate Bishop Ken for the good of the Church as well as from personal friendship. Bishop Ken's acceptance would go far towards healing, if it would not completely heal, the Non-conformist divisions. The Bishop's scruple to the oaths could not, however, be overcome. He was, besides, much broken in health. He had, on the 30th of October preceding, described himself to Bishop Lloyd as "afflicted with such pains, that I am by no means fit for travelling—they are rheumatic, and lie within my joints, and never come to the extreme parts, and at this present, my left arm is in a great measure disabled."

His own wish was that Hooper should accept the appointment himself. As soon as he received the first rumor of the matter he addressed his friend the following letter :

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

*Dec. 6.*

My very good Lord,

I am informed that you have an offer of Bath and Wells, and that you refused it, which I take very kindly, because I know

you did it on my account ; but since I am well assured that the Diocese cannot be happy to that degree in any other hands than in your own, I DESIRE YOU TO ACCEPT OF IT, and I know that you have a prevailing interest to procure it. I told you long ago at Bath how willing I was to surrender my canonical claim to a worthy person, but to none *more willingly* than to yourself. My distemper disables me from the pastoral duty, and had I been restored, I declared always that I would shake off the burthen and retire."

He writes on the same day to Dr. Lloyd :

"I hear of several persons who solicit for my Diocese, and whom I know not, and I am informed that it is offered to my old friend the Bishop of St. Asaph, and that it is declined by him. For my own part, if times should have changed, I never intended to return to my burden, but I much desire to see the flock in good hands, and I know none better to whom I may intrust it than his, for which reason I write to him this post, to let him know my desire that he should succeed. with which I thought good to acquaint your Lordship."

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He writes to Dr. Lloyd again, twelve days later :

“I, hearing that the Bishop of St. Asaph was offered Bath and Wells, and that on my account he *refused* it, wrote to him to accept of it. I did it in charity to the Diocese, that they might not have a Latitudinarian Traditour imposed on them, who would betray the baptismal faith, but one who had ability and zeal to assert it ; and the imminent danger in which religion now is, and which daily increases, ought to supersede all the ancient canons. I am so disabled by rheumatic and colick pains that I cannot in conscience return to a public station, were I restored ; and I think none ought to censure me, if in such perilous times I desire a coadjutor, for which I have good precedents as well as reasons. It is not the *first time* I dissented from some of my brethren ; and never saw cause to repent of it.”

Bishop Hooper, finding all efforts to move his friend unavailing, at last consented to become his successor. Bishop Ken at once wrote to him in warm approval.

“I heartily congratulate the Diocese of Bath and Wells of your translation, for it was

the good of the flock, and not my friendship for yourself, which made me desire to see you in the pastoral chair, where I know you will zealously *contend for the faith once delivered to the saints*, which, in these *latitudinarian times*, is in great danger to be lost. I could easily foresee that, by my concern for you, I should incur the displeasure of some of my brethren; but this is not the first instance in which I have dissented from them, and never had cause to repent of it, and the good of the Diocese supersedes all other considerations."

Bishop Lloyd wrote to Bishop Ken to congratulate him on the choice made of Hooper. Bishop Ken in reply says—"You cannot imagine the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my See."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

DISSATISFACTION OF THE NON-JURORS—DR. KEN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP LLOYD—BISHOP HOOPER'S PROVISION FOR DR. KEN—LETTER OF THANKS—VISIT TO BISHOP FRAMPTON—THE SEVEN CHILDREN—THE BISHOP AND THE CHAPLAIN—UNITED CHARITIES.

BISHOP Ken's resignation of his Diocese to Dr. Hooper caused a great excitement among the non-jurors, who openly charged him with having deserted the cause. Bishop Lloyd, in his letter approving the character of Dr. Hooper, had asked him to wait until a meeting of the party could be held to discuss the question of his resignation. This he could not do, as the government would not keep the office unfilled. He says in a letter to Bishop Lloyd :

“ Among other things which are vehemently laid to my charge, one is, that against your advice and entreaties, I would obstinately go my own way. Against this, I own that you had wrote to me to defer my ces-



sion, but that the nature of the thing would not permit it, and if I had not given my consent that post, I might have had a hireling, and not a shepherd."

Bishop Lloyd drew a distinction between his approbation of Hooper, as Ken's successor, and his approbation of Ken's act in resigning, charging his friend with unfairness in inferring, as he had, the latter from the former. Bishop Ken again writes in justification :

"I have done nothing but what may be justified by primitive precedents, and which is for the preservation of the *Depositum*, which ought chiefly to exhaust a pastor's zeal, especially when he is in all respects *disabled* himself for pastoral care, and that the flock might have a shepherd, and not a hireling.

"For my own part, I never did anything in my life more to my satisfaction than my receding. It has eased me of a great load which lay on me, and has entirely loosened me from the world ; so that I have now nothing to do but to think of eternity, for which God of his infinite mercy prepare us."

In another letter Bishop Ken charges Lloyd with having changed his views with reference to his friend's conduct, under the pres-

sure of party feeling. He complains that he has deserted him, and also injured him by showing his private letters to partisans incensed against him.

Bishop Lloyd responded by a long and angry letter, in which he reiterates his distinction between his approval of Bishop Ken's successor and Bishop Ken's cession. He denies the charge respecting private letters.

Bishop Ken's answer, admirable in tone and expression, seems to have terminated the controversy between the friends.

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

*May 1.*

My very good Lord and Brother,

Your Lordship's was sent to me to Poulshot last night. I confess when I wrote my last I was heated, and provoked to a great degree; and if my provocation transported me to any indecent expressions, I beg your pardon, which you will, I hope, the more readily grant, because you seem to have been in the like passion when you wrote, and because I intend to give you no further trouble. You must give me leave to be sensible when I am insulted, which I can very easily forgive. Every day increases the satisfaction I have in providing

so well for my flock. God keep us in His holy fear, and make us wise for eternity.

Your Lordship's very affectionate friend  
and brother, T. K.

It will be noticed that Dr. Ken drops his title in the signature. This was his general practice after the induction of Dr. Hooper to the Diocese. He occasionally adds the words, "late Bishop."

Bishop Hooper, in accepting the appointment to Bath and Wells, requested the Queen to allow him to retain the chanterhip of Exeter, held by him, that he might pay the salary, two hundred pounds, to his friend Ken. The Queen gave a ready and glad assent, a remarkable instance of her favor, as she was in general rigid in requiring the oaths from persons in office. The Bishop of Exeter, however, objected to Bishop Hooper's retention of the office. Hooper, on the other hand, would not yield possession. The matter was finally settled by the Queen, who requested Hooper to resign the chanterhip, and conferred a pension of two hundred pounds a year upon his friend, and her favorite, from the Treasury. Bishop Hooper gladly assented

to this. As the amount could in either case be conferred only during the lifetime of the donor, and the Queen was many years his junior, she was evidently the better dependance.

Dr. Ken knew nothing of the matter until it was all arranged. He returns a warm acknowledgment to Bishop Hooper's letter conveying the pleasant news.

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

My good Lord,

*June 1, 1704.*

Your Lordship gave me a wonderful surprise when you informed me that the Queen had been pleased to settle a very liberal pension on me. I beseech God to accumulate the blessings of both lives on her Majesty for her royal bounty to me, so perfectly free and unexpected; and I beseech God abundantly to reward my Lord Treasurer, who inclined her to be thus gracious to me, and give him a plentiful measure of wisdom from above.

My Lord, let it not shock your native modesty if I make this just acknowledgment that though the sense of her Majesty's favor in the pension is deservedly great, yet her choosing you for my successor gave me much

more satisfaction; as my concern for the eternal welfare of the flock exceeded all regard for my own temporal advantage, being as truly conscious of my own infirmities as I am assured of your excellent abilities of which the Diocese, even at your first coming, signally reaped the fruits.

Bishop Ken had spent so large a share of his little income in charity as to deny himself many comforts. Bishop Hooper therefore interfered in the distribution of the additional sum, and would not permit him to "give it all away, which he was so charitable as to be always doing; so that his habit was mean, and a poor horse to carry him about, which made Hooper entreat him to lay out something for himself; and from that time he appeared in everything according to his condition."\*

In September of this year, Bishop Ken paid a visit to his old friend Bishop Frampton. He describes the interview in a letter to Bishop Lloyd:

"I made, as I told you I intended, a visit to our good Brother of Gloucester, who was

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\* Mrs. Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper, quoted in "Life of Ken," p. 730.

not a little joyed to see me. He is very cheerful, and being past eighty, does not only expect, but, like St. Paul, longs for his dissolution. He has many infirmities of old age, but his eyes are very good, and he uses no spectacles. With all the tenderness imaginable, he remembers your Lordship."

A beautiful personal anecdote has been preserved of our good Bishop, at this period of his life. A Viscount Longueville died in 1704, leaving a widow with seven small children. Bishop Ken was requested to visit the bereaved family. He did so, and requesting to see the children, drew them in a line, saying, "It was very grateful to him to see so many beings who had never wilfully offended God."

Dr. Routh, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who died recently at the remarkable age of ninety-nine years, furnishes, from a family tradition, another pleasant glimpse of Bishop Ken. It cannot be better told than in his own words.

"Bishop Ken was staying in Gloucestershire, near Badminton, the seat of the Duke of Beaufort, with whom he was acquainted. The Bishop being an early riser, called one

morning to pay his respects to the Duke. The Duke was not stirring; but Ken was received by the chaplain, who believing him to be a clergyman from the neighborhood, invited him to breakfast. Whilst they were so engaged, the Duke entered, and immediately, on seeing the Bishop, fell on his knees and asked his blessing. The chaplain, surprised when he found the distinction of his visitor, began to apologize for the manner in which he had received him, but was stopped by the Bishop's declaring the obligation to be entirely on his side, who had been so hospitably entertained."\*

A letter of the same period furnishes a pleasant picture of the community in good works between the late and present Bishops of Bath and Wells.

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

*Oct. 6, 1704.*

My very good Lord,

I have sent my servant to beg of your Lordship two or three bottles of canary for our sick friend, which the Doctor commends to him. Your Lordship gave the whole

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\* "Life of Ken," p. 784.

family so seasonable and sensible a consolation, that it revived the whole family, and it gave me a very great satisfaction to see my friend do an act of so great, so free, and so well-timed charity. The good man is full of resignation to the divine will, and has an humble confidence of a blessed immortality.

Bishop Hooper fully realized all his friend's fond anticipations. He retained the Diocese for the remainder of his life, refusing subsequent offers of the far more lucrative and important Diocese of London, and the Archbishopric of York.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AT LONGLEAT—DR. SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF THE "GOOD VIRGINS"—THE MISSES KEMEYSE—NAISH HOUSE—DEATH OF BISHOP FRAMPTON—HIS HUMOR AND CHARITY—DEATH OF BISHOP LLOYD—DIVIDED COUNSELS OF THE NON-JURORS—BISHOP KEN'S MODERATION—DIVISION OF THE PARTY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GREEK CHURCH—END OF THE SCHISM.

THE extracts which we have given from Bishop Ken's letters have furnished us with many glimpses of his mode of life during his retirement at Longleat. It is pleasant to find much of enjoyment mixed up with his controversial embarrassments. He preserves in seclusion the activity of his mind. He is the same warm and generous friend, sensitive to misconception or reproach, but equally ready to confess his own wrong, or forgive that of others.

We have seen that he maintained his friendships by visits to his nephew at Poulshot, to London, and elsewhere. A letter of Dr. Smith's introduces us to another household, honored by the Bishop's visits.

“The Christmas festival now approaching, I presume that you have made your retreat from the noise and hurry of a palace, open to all comers of fashion and quality, to the private seat of the good ladies, which has a better pretence to the title of a *Religious House* than those so called in Popish countries, where superstition, opinion of merit, and forced vows take off very much from the pure spirit of devotion, and render their restraint tedious and irksome. But these good ladies are happy under your conduct, and are, by an uninterrupted course of piety, elevated above all the gaudy pomps and vanities of the world, and enjoy all the comforts and satisfactions and serenity of mind to be wished for and attained on this side of heaven in their solitudes; and I cannot but look upon you as another St. Hierome conversing with the devout ladies at Bethlehem, instructing and confirming their faith, and directing their consciences in the methods of true spiritual life, and inflaming their souls with seraphic notions of God, and of Christ, and of the other world, and especially by the most convincing evidence and demonstration of example.”

The Bishop replies :

"Till I was settled with the good virgins, of whom you have such respectful thoughts, and whose habitation I reach'd not till last night, I deferred to send you my acknowledgments," etc.

The "good virgins" were two maiden ladies of the name of Kemeyse, who resided at Naish House, at Portishead, six miles from Bristol. They appear to have lived in retirement, devoting their time in a great measure to religious exercises, and their means to charity, somewhat in the manner of George Herbert's friend, Mr. Farrar. The Bishop speaks of the house as "a kind of nunnery, where I usually abide in my Lord Weymouth's absence." Allusions to these visits are found in several of his letters. "I intend, God willing," he says in one, "to spend the winter with two good virgins beyond Bristol."

Dr. Smith appears to have been indebted to their bounty. In a letter to Bishop Ken he says :

"I must own the obligations your Lordship and the good ladies of Nash have laid upon me for your good wishes to me and to my family."

Another letter regrets disturbing the Bishop, "during your retirement into the desert, out of the noise and hurry of the world, where you have, in the religious society of the good ladies, as much as we can pretend to in this life, been exercising all the holy charitable offices belonging to, and flowing from, the article of the *Ἀγιῶν κοινωνία*, (the communion of saints)."

The "good ladies" had the highest regard for the Bishop, reverencing him, as a contemporary informs us, "for his great piety and charity," and looking up to him as their spiritual guide.\*

The venerable Bishop Frampton died in 1708. In the early years of his ministry he was chaplain to the English factory or colony of merchants at Aleppo, and twice visited Jerusalem. He remained at Aleppo for sixteen years. On his return to England, he was appointed Prebendary and afterwards Dean of Gloucester. In 1680, at the age of sixty, he was appointed Bishop of the same Diocese. He was in high repute as a popular preacher and possessed great humor. He took his de-

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\* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 71.

privation very philosophically, writing a capital letter to Bishop Lloyd on the entrance of his successor, Bishop Fowler, which he pleasantly signs—

“Yours, such as he is,

“N. G. T. W.

(“*Not Gloucester to wit.*”)

He retired to the village of Standish, where he was allowed to occupy the parsonage house. He constantly attended church, and “often catechised the children in the afternoon of Sundays, and expounded the sermon which had been preached in the morning by another person.”\* In the days of his prosperity he constantly spent half of his income in charity. The whole story of his excellent life might be summed up in this brief passage from one of his letters dated in 1703 :

“I love God above all things with my whole heart and soul—next to him, all good men and women in the world, because they bear his image.”

Bishop Lloyd died on the first day of the year 1710. Dr. Ken was thus left the only deprived Bishop.

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\* “Life of Ken,” p. 759.

Five years before, Henry Dodwell, one of the most eminent of the non-juring writers, had written a volume entitled "*The Case in View*," to prepare the minds of his associates for the rapidly approaching period, when, by the deaths of all the deprived Bishops, the succession must either be perpetuated by private consecrations or the schism cease to exist. In his opinion no occasion existed for the former course, as, at the deaths of the deprived Bishops, their successors had ceased to be intruders and were entitled to the obedience of all within their dioceses.

The rigid non-jurors, on the other hand, held that the new Bishops had, by accepting dioceses not canonically vacant, been guilty of schism, and were therefore not to be supported by Churchmen.

Both parties now looked with great interest to the course to be taken by Bishop Ken. He did not keep them long in suspense. In reply to a communication from Mr. Dodwell, he thus plainly expresses his views :

"In that you are pleased to ask me, whether I insist on my Episcopal claim? my answer is, that I do not, and that I have no reason to insist on it, in regard that I made a cession

to my most worthy successor, who came into the fold by my free consent and approbation. As for any clandestine claim, my judgment was always against it, foreseeing that it would perpetuate a schism, which I found very afflicting to good people scattered in the country, where they could have no divine offices performed."

In consequence of this decision, Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Nelson, with other leaders of their party, attended church at Shottesbrooke, Berks, on Sunday, February 26th, 1710. Their presence caused such joy, as an evidence that the difference which had caused such sorrow to true Christians had been overcome, that the church bells were rung in honor of the event.

The example of these distinguished men was followed by the majority of their party. The rest adhered to the able, but violent, Dr. George Hickes. In consequence of the death of Dr. Wagstaffe, Dr. Hickes remained the only survivor of the clandestinely consecrated Bishops. Determined to continue the line, he summoned two of the non-juring bishops of Scotland, to unite with him in the consecration of Collier, Hawes, and Spinckes. Others

were afterwards consecrated by these. They finally applied to the Patriarchs of the Greek Church, to be admitted to fellowship in that body, after having published a prayer-book of their own, differing in important respects from the Book of Common Prayer. A correspondence ensued. The Patriarchs demanded that they should believe in Transubstantiation, and adopt the Liturgy of the Greek Church. The non-jurors, or "Suffering Catholic Bishops of the old Constitution of Britain," as they styled themselves, would only accept the Liturgy of the Church of England adopted in the reign of Edward VI. The correspondence closed by a letter from the Patriarchs in 1723, requiring a full compliance with the Greek Church as the condition of union. This was not accepted, and the sect gradually died out. Its members were men of learning, ability, and piety. Their history exhibits the danger of a too tenacious adherence to individual opinion. Their protest was carried beyond reasonable limits, and so failed in its effects.

Viewed as a whole, however, the non-juring movement was bold and disinterested. But for it the Church of England might have



fallen still more helplessly under state control. It was a happy circumstance that the most popular of the original leaders should have been also the most judicious, and, by outliving his associates, had it in his power virtually to terminate a dangerous feud.

## CHAPTER XXXIII. •

LONGLEAT—MR. KEBLE'S TRIBUTE TO BISHOP KEN—POETICAL WORKS—NEED OF REVISION—DEDICATION—INTRODUCTION—GOOD AND BAD—INVOCATION—THE VIRGIN AND CHILD—PARAPHRASE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER—BARNABAS—ALL SAINTS—CHRISTOPHIL.

WE now gladly turn, for the last time, from painful controversy to the holy calm of the upper room at Longleat.

No modern writer has shown so thorough an appreciation of the beauty of Bishop Ken's character, and the merits of his published writings, as the author of *The Christian Year*. Mr. Keble, in an admirable article on Sacred Poetry, in the *London Quarterly Review*, says:

“ We shall hardly find, in all Ecclesiastical history, a greener spot than the later years of this courageous and affectionate Pastor ; persecuted alternately by both parties, and driven from his station in his declining age ; yet singing on, with unabated cheerfulness, to

the last. Whoever in earnest loves his three well-known Hymns, and knows how to value such unaffected strains of poetical devotion, will find his account in turning over his four volumes, half narrative, and half lyric, and all avowedly on sacred subjects; the narrative often cumbrous, and the lyric verse not seldom languid and redundant; yet all breathing such an angelic spirit, interspersed with such pure and bright touches of poetry, that such a reader as we have supposed will scarcely find it in his heart to criticise them."

The Bishop employed a large portion of his retirement at Longleat in the composition of verse. His poetical works, published after his death, in 1721, filling four large duodecimo volumes, were almost all, with the exception of the long epic entitled *Edmund*, written during his voyage to Tangier, avowedly composed for the occupation of leisure hours, often for the alleviation of pain, and expressly reserved for posthumous publication. The last condition was unfortunate. If the good Bishop had had the prospect of an immediate cold plunge of his ardent fancies into unsympathizing public criticism, much which could have been well spared would have gone into

the fire. Instead of this, the piles of MS. accumulated quietly in his cabinet, probably undisturbed until after his death. The mass was then published by his executor and first biographer, Hawkins. It is the strangest collection, bearing the name of one of undoubted eminence, in our literature. The volumes have never been reprinted, and probably never will be. The first opens with a Dedication to Lord Weymouth. We quote a few lines of direct personal interest :

When I, my Lord, crushed by prevailing Might,  
No cottage had where to direct my flight ;  
Kind Heav'n me with a friend illustrious blest,  
Who gives me shelter, affluence, and rest.  
In this alone, I Gregory outdo,  
That I much happier refuge have in you :  
Where to my closet I to hymn retire,  
On this side Heav'n have nothing to desire.

Bless'd Gregory, with pain and sickness griev'd,  
His spirit oft with songs devout relieved,  
And while on hymn his meditation dwelt,  
Devotion sweeten'd ev'ry pang he felt.

Between my couch and chair my days I waste,  
And of a book have but evanid taste ;

Pain haunting me, I court the sacred muse,  
Verse is the only laudanum I use ;

Verse in which harmony and picture's join'd  
My dolours damp, and recreate my mind.

o o o o o o o

I, crush'd by state decree, and griev'd with pain,  
The past'ral toil unable to sustain,  
More gladly off the hallowed burthen shake  
Than I at first the weight could undertake,  
And shall rejoice, when sinking to my grave,  
That my dear sheep a worthier pastor have,  
That living, I had buried past'ral care,  
And for my last was freer to prepare.

o o o o o o o

I, the small dol'rous remnant of my days  
Devote to hymn my Great Redeemer's praise.  
I, nearer as I draw t'ward heavenly rest,  
The more I love the employment of the blest.

In that employment while my hours I spend,  
This pray'r I offer for my noble friend,  
Whose shades benign to sacred songs invite,  
Who to those songs may claim paternal right,  
Rich as he is in all good works below,  
May he in heavenly treasure overflow.

An Introduction follows, in which he speaks  
of the narrow escape his productions have  
frequently had from the fire. We meet in  
this poem a happy couplet.

To God's disposal he resign'd his cares,  
And liv'd upon the income of his pray'rs.

On the very next page, so closely are

beauties and blemishes blended, we find this strange bit of ill-regulated fancy :

Six four-wing'd cherubs out of air he chose,  
And into pairs commanded them to close,  
From a bright rainbow's divers colour'd veins,  
He for the set cut harnesses and reins ;  
Twice three cylindral thunderbolts for bits,  
He to the headstalls of their harness fits.

We meet, a little farther on, another fine couplet :

With meekness to the fold recall the stray,  
And guide, not drive him, to the narrow way.

The Introduction closes with an Invocation :

Jesu, my Lord, my God, my hymns promote,  
Which to thy glory humbly I devote.  
My mind irradiate, and my will inflame,  
That I may sing songs worthy of thy name.  
Thy sovereign aid I invoke, for none  
Can reach heights fit for God, but God alone.  
King David in his own, and public woes,  
Sang heav'nly songs his spirit to compose.  
I, troubled and infirm, with sacred strains  
Sweeten my sorrows and assuage my pains.  
My sorrows, when I public guilt bewail,  
My pains, which daily over me prevail.  
Pains which permit not studies more severe,  
Songs best my dolorous hours employ and cheer.  
Songs which the loves of Jesus shall recite,  
And in reflected love take heav'nward flight.  
Jesus, the name propitious and divine,  
The Christian's universal anodine.

A series of poems follow on the different events of our Saviour's life. The Virgin and Child have seldom been more beautifully painted than in these lines :

The Babe lay sucking the young Virgin's breast,  
Which gently she to feed her Maker, prest :  
Each drop he suck't her with fresh rapture fill'd,  
And with her milk her very soul distill'd.  
Nothing e'er had such soft, sweet, mighty charms  
As that dear Babe in that dear mother's arms.

The Lord's Prayer is paraphrased with remarkable concision, simplicity, and beauty :

Our Father, thron'd in heav'n, Thy Name be prais'd.  
Thy kingdom over all the world be rais'd ;  
May all thy subjects here the sovereign will,  
Like angels, with alacrity, fulfil ;  
Send bread and due supports, by which we live ;  
Remit our sins, as we our foes forgive ;  
Let no temptations us allure or blind,  
Guard from all ill our body and our mind ;  
Thine is the heav'nly kingdom, glory, might,  
Thou to dispose of all things hast the right.

"Hymns for all the Festivals in the Year" follow. Several of these are beautiful. The portrait of Barnabas seems a reflection of his own characteristics :

Saints him for sweetness fam'd,  
The Son of Consolation nam'd ;

They Barnabas decreed  
The name of *Joses* to succeed.  
And ever since by none  
But that sweet name the saint is known.

His warm heart finds glowing utterance on  
the Festival of All Saints :

Bless'd spirits, you and we  
Make one celestial family ;  
One Father we revere,  
To one fraternal love adhere.  
You are in happy state,  
Our bliss is only inchoate :  
O may we strangers here this world repel,  
And with our heav'nly brethren chiefly dwell.

Of all the places here,  
None pictures the celestial sphere  
More than God's House of Prayer,  
When faithful souls sing praises there ;  
When heav'n and earth conspire  
In one harmonious hymning quire :  
O may we free from wilful, sensual taints,  
Live in communion with supernal saints.

The volume closes with "Christophil, or  
Songs on Jesus," a series of compositions on  
the attributes of our Saviour.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

EDMUND—HYMNARIUM — HYMNOTHEO—ANODYNES—PREPARATIVES FOR DEATH — SLEEPLESS NIGHTS—DYING TO THE WORLD—PSYCHE—THE HEART STRAYING AND REGAINED.

THE second volume of Bishop Ken's collection is chiefly occupied by "Edmund, an Epic Poem," in thirteen long books. The action of the composition is so involved, and allegory so mingled with history, as to render analysis in any reasonable space almost impossible. The style is heavy and pedantic, the story dull, the merits, rhyme and reason alike suggest, null.

The remaining fourth part of the volume is occupied by "*Hymnarium*: or Hymns on the Attributes of God." These are dedicated to his successor, Bishop Hooper. Volume third contains another long poem, half pastoral, half didactic, entitled "*Hymnotheo*, or The Penitent." It shares in a less degree in the faults of "Edmund."

We next meet with "*Anodynes*, or Alleviations of Pain." There is a painful significance in this title and that of the collection by which it is followed—"Preparatives for Death." These devout hymns were literally composed as a relief from pain and in near prospect of dissolution. They read like a continuous diary of his sick-room thoughts, the wail of pain alternating with the song of thanksgiving. We select one of these compositions for its beautiful picture of perfect submission to the Divine will.

Pain keeps me waking in the night,  
 I longing lie for morning light ;  
     Methinks the sluggish sun,  
 Forgets he this day's course must run ;  
 O heav'nly torch, why this delay,  
 In giving us our wonted day ?

°     °     °     °     °     °

I feel my watch, ° I tell the clock,  
 I hear each crowing of the cock ;  
     Ev'n Egypt, when three days  
 The heav'ns withheld the solar rays,  
 And all in thickest darkness dwelt,  
 Night more afflicting never felt.

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° His watch was purposely so contrived, as that he could by his finger discover the time to half a quarter of an hour.—*Note to Poems.*

With joy and light the saints are blest,  
Thick night and pain the damn'd molest ;  
    My dolours to excite,  
Pain and darkness both unite ;  
Yet in my darkness and my pain,  
Some gleams of joy and light remain.

God's favours darkest clouds expel,  
By pains he frights my soul from hell ;  
    Melts me to humble tears,  
And his soft love each pang endears ;  
While gracious God I strive to please,  
I never want or light, or ease.

Sun, mend not then for me your pace,  
But at your will defer your race,  
    I am refresh'd by light,  
Than you ten thousand times more bright ;  
I, when towards chaos you decline,  
Shall have both light and joy divine.

“Dying to the World” is imbued with the same divine calm. It is, we think, one of the most beautiful of his poems.

Death, when for me you are design'd,  
But little work in me you'll find.  
    I have employ'd my cares,  
    So to dispose affairs,  
That from my ghostly shield your dart,  
Back on your skeleton will start.

My all is God's possession grown,  
I nothing keep to call my own,

If any self you see  
Remaining still in me ;  
O that should long ago have dy'd,  
Had I the lurking ill descry'd.

Perhaps you'll at my body aim,  
But that's devoted to God's name ;  
God there is pleas'd to build  
A Temple with God fill'd,  
Dare you to ruin that design  
Which Temple is of Godhead Trine ?

By God's permission yet you may,  
Dissolve this house built up of clay,  
In ruins where it lies  
It glorious shall arise,  
And rise to a much nobler height,  
Than the first temple much more bright.

Should you my heav'n-born soul attempt  
That from your terrors lives exempt,  
You ne'er, with all your skill,  
Could souls immortal kill ;  
You need not me and world divide,  
I long ago the world deny'd.

I have prevented all your force,  
Which from my friends might me divorce ;  
To friends, though truly dear,  
My heart dares not adhere,  
No perfect friend but God I know,  
For God I all the rest forego.

Should you invade me arm'd with pain,  
And make me num'rous deaths sustain,

My will to God resign'd  
 Sweet ease in God will find ;  
 God's love will all my pains endear,  
 With joy my dissolution's near.

Death, when you shall approach my head,  
 You'll nothing see but what is dead,  
     Yet do not me forsake,  
     Care of my body take ;  
 Lay me with gentle hand asleep,  
 God in the grave my dust will keep.

“Psyche, or Magdalum,” is a poem, cast in the pastoral form, on the human soul. Psyche, a soul seeking relief for sin is borne to Magdalum, a sort of spiritual Arcadia where

Chaste souls recesses keep,  
 And learn to love, hymn, meditate, and weep.

She is visited by several maidens, with names typifying various phases of character, who each address to her various counsels or encouragements. These form the subjects of numerous detached poems, one of which we select. It reminds us somewhat of Sir Walter Raleigh's celebrated verses, “The Lye.”

#### THE HEART STRAYING AND REGAINED.

Upon a solemn day  
 When saints convened to hymn and pray,  
     It was my fix'd design  
 With them in sacrifice to join,

But when my heart I would prepare,  
My heart was gone I knew not where.

I went into the street,  
And there enquire of all I meet—  
Saw you a heart this way,  
Which inconsiderate runs astray,  
Which changes oftner than the wind,  
And will be to no bounds confin'd ?

The most make no reply,  
With air regardless pass me by ;  
Some would in mockery say,  
We meet such stragglers ev'ry day ;  
Others to pity me incline,  
Their hearts would stray as well as mine.

An aged priest at last,  
Of rev'rend visage by me pass'd,  
And I fresh courage took,  
From his devout paternal look ;  
Strait I his benediction crave,  
Which he with yearning bowels gave.

You, sir, said I, well know,  
One to compassionate in woe,  
With patience hear my moan,  
My heart is from its mansion flown,  
I tidings fain of it would get,  
Say, if a wandering heart you met ?

A thousand, he rejoin'd,  
I ev'ry day such stragglers find,  
Men's false backsliding hearts,  
Make from their duty frequent starts :

Strict watch and pray'r keep mine at home,  
Else like the multitude 'twould roam.

But if you to my eyes,  
Can your own heart characterize,  
I then may tell you news,  
Which joy may over you diffuse,  
With hearts I am acquainted grown,  
By the long study of my own.

I then my heart describ'd,  
What sins, what errors it imbib'd,  
My darling sin confest,  
Which domineer'd o'er all the rest.  
That heart, said he, I newly spy'd,  
By sensual motives led aside.

Pray, and go strait along,  
Of wand'ring hearts you'll see a throng,  
Of vanities there's store,  
And yet full stock'd they covet more ;  
Your heart is ready to lay down,  
For transient joys an endless crown.

I pray'd, as on I went,  
Found on the world my heart intent,  
Its madness I deplor'd,  
The stray I to my breast restor'd,  
I with disdain the bargain brake,  
Its bliss it nevermore shall stake.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

BISHOP KEN AND ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUM—ST. GREGORY'S RESIGNATION OF HIS DIOCESE AND ADIEU TO HIS PEOPLE—BISHOP KEN'S INFIRMITIES—HIS WILL—BEQUESTS AND PROFESSIONS OF FAITH—VISIT TO MRS. THYNNE—PALSY—RETURN TO LONGLEAT—DEATH—DIRECTIONS FOR HIS FUNERAL—EPITAPH WRITTEN BY HIMSELF—IRON MONUMENT—RESTORATION OF FROME CHURCH—CHAPEL AND MEMORIAL WINDOW TO BISHOP KEN—INSCRIPTION—THE BISHOP'S WORKS—THE THREE HYMNS—CONCLUSION.

A REMARKABLE similarity exists between the career of Bishop Ken and that of St. Gregory of Nazianzum, Bishop of Constantinople. Both in the enjoyment of ample revenues, lived frugally, that they might bestow their abundance upon the poor. Both were famed for eloquence. Both were deprived of their dioceses, and retired with cheerfulness to penury and obscurity. Both suffered severely from long protracted illness.

St. Gregory thus expressed his willingness, for the peace of the Church, to retire from his Bishopric.



“If my holding the Diocese gives any disturbance, behold I am willing, like Jonah, to be cast into the sea to appease the storm, though I did not raise it. If all followed my example, the Church would enjoy an uninterrupted tranquillity. This dignity I never desired; I took the charge upon me much against my will. If you think fit, I am ready to depart; and I will return back to my little cottage, that you may remain here quiet, and the Church of God enjoy peace. I only desire that the see may be filled by a person that is capable and willing to defend the faith.”

St. Gregory bade adieu to his people in the great Church of St. Sophia, before an immense congregation. His last words were, “My dear children, preserve the *Depositum* of Faith, and remember the stones which have been thrown at me, because I planted it in your hearts.”

These points of resemblance seem to have made a deep impression upon Bishop Ken’s mind. He has drawn out the parallel at length in the Dedication to his Poems, disclaiming, however, any other likeness to St. Gregory than that of misfortune and love of poetry.

We have had touching evidences in the "Anodynes" and "Preparations for Death" that the Bishop's mind often dwelt upon the period of his dissolution. Worn out with disease and age, he had little to attach him to the world. Ripe in faith and good works, he had every hope that mortal can have of the enjoyment of heaven.

The Hot Wells of Bristol and of Bath were tried without effect. They rather irritated than allayed his pains.

Shortly before his death he received a legacy from some deceased friend. He soon after, during a brief period of convalescence, made his will, dividing up the sum thus obtained in a number of small bequests, amounting in all to £445. The document opens in his usual devout manner.

"In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, Blessed forever, Amen.

"I, Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, unworthy, being at present, thanks be to God, in perfect health, both of body and mind, do make and appoint this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following :

"I commend my spirit into the hands of my Heavenly Father, and my body to the

earth, in certain hope, through Jesus, my Redeemer, of a happy resurrection."

He bequeaths to Lord Weymouth, "in case he outlives me, all my books of which his Lordship has not the duplicates, as a memorial of my gratitude for his signal and continued favors." The duplicates, if any, are left, subject to a similar condition, to the library of the Cathedral at Wells. The residue, with a few reservations, are to be divided between his nephews Isaac Walton and John Beacham.

Requests of from ten to fifty pounds follow to various relatives. He also leaves to "the English Deprived Clergy the sum of fifty pounds; to the Deprived Officers the sum of forty pounds, and to the Deprived Scotch Clergy the sum of fifty pounds."

"To the poor of the parish where I am buried the sum of five pounds, and to my servant who shall be with me at my death the sum of ten pounds."

"The Library at Bath" receives all his "French, Italian, and Spanish books."

His "wooden cup, lined with gold, and Lord Clarendon's History in six volumes, in red Turkey guild" (gilt), are left to his "very

worthy dear Friend Mrs. Margaret Mathew, dwelling in Cardiff," and his "little Patin and Chalice guild, to the Parish where I am buried, for the use of sick persons who desire the Holy Sacrament."

These sacred vessels are still preserved in Frome Church. The will contains a profession of faith, celebrated among several similar declarations by great and good men for its simple earnestness.

"As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church, before the disunion of East and West; more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."

The closing words then follow—

"I beg pardon of all whom I have any way offended: and I entirely forgive all those who have any ways offended me. I acknowledge myself a very great and miserable sinner; but die in humble confidence, that on my repentance I shall be accepted in the Beloved.

"I appoint my Nephew, William Hawkins,

to be my sole Executor of this, my last Will and Testament, who I know will observe the directions punctually,\* which I leave for my burial.

“Witness my hand and seal,

“THOMAS, BATH AND WELLS, Depr.”

In the beginning of the year 1710, Bishop Ken went to Bristol, for the use of the Hot Well, where he remained until November, when he paid a visit to the Hon. Mrs. Thynne, the widow of the Hon. Henry Thynne (who died in 1708), eldest son of Lord Weymouth, at her country seat, Lewiston, near Sherborne, Dorsetshire. Here, “being seized with a dead palsy on one side of him, he was confined to his bed until about the middle of March, when being, as he thought, able to take such a journey, he resolved for the *Bath*, in hopes to find relief from those waters; nor could the persuasions of that good lady, or his physician, divert his design, though he labored under another distemper (*viz.*), the dropsy.”†

His hostess, unable to induce him to remain,

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\* A curious use of the word in its derivative meaning, —to the point or letter.

† Hawkins’ “Life of Ken.”

sent him in her coach to Longleat, on his way to Bath. On his arrival at Longleat he was sensible that he had reached the termination of his journey and his life. He spent the evening of his arrival, Saturday, "in adjusting some papers." He remained in his room on Sunday, and on Monday took to his bed. He died a week after. The closing record may be left in the words of his nephew and first biographer, Hawkins.

"He was remarkably patient in his sickness, and when upon his own enquiry of his physician, how many days he thought he might probably live, desiring him to speak plainly and freely, and telling him he had no reason to be afraid of dying, and being by him answered, '*About two or three days,*' his only reply was (his usual expression, and that without the least concern), '*God's will be done,*' desiring that no applications might be made to cause him to linger in pain. It can be no wonder he should so little regard the terrors of death, who had for many years travelled with his shroud in his portmanteau, as what he often said might be as soon wanted as any other of his habiliments; and which was by himself put on, as soon as he came to Longleat,

giving notice of it the day before his death, by way of prevention that his body might not be stripp'd. He doz'd much the day or two before he died ; and what little he spake was sometimes not coherent, which having been plied with opiates, seem'd to be rather the effect of dream, than distemper."

He endeavored to give his servant a message for Bishop Hooper, but was so far gone that all that could be understood were the words "best friend."

His physicians were Dr. Meriwether of Devizes and Dr. Bevison of Bath. The diary of the former contains a brief record of his attendance and the closing scene.

"*March* 16, 1711.—I went to Longleat to visit Bishop Ken ; met Dr. Bevison.

"18th.—I waited on him again ; *ibid*.

"19th.—*All Glory be to God*. Between five and six in the morning, Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, died at Longleat."

The Bishop was in his seventy-fourth year. His directions for his funeral were, that he should be buried "in the Churchyard of the nearest parish within his Diocese, under the east window of the chancel, just at sun-rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony,







**Bishop Ken's Tomb.      Page 309.**

besides that of the Order for Burial, in the Liturgy of the Church of England," and to be carried to the grave by the six poorest men in the parish, were closely complied with at his interment at Frome Selwood on the morning of the twenty-first of March, 1711.

He also directed that the following epitaph, written by himself, should be inscribed on a plain stone over his grave.

"May the here interred Thomas, late Bp. of Bath and Wells, and uncanonically Deprived for not transferring his Allegiance, have a perfect consummation of Bliss, both in body and soul at The Great Day, of which God keep me always mindful."\*

In place of the "plain stone," the Bishop's remains are covered by a memorial, probably erected by Lord Weymouth, of a curious character. It consists of a series of iron bars, bent over the grave a little above the sod. On their flat, coffin-shaped surface are placed a mitre and crosier, also of iron. There is no inscription. The last resting-place of Bishop Ken remained thus slightly marked until the

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\* A fac-simile of this Epitaph, in the author's handwriting, is given in Bowles' "Life of Ken."

year 1844, when, at a meeting of the clergy and laity of the neighborhood assembled for the purpose, the restoration of the chancel of Frome Church and the erection of a suitable monument to Bishop Ken were resolved upon. Means were liberally contributed, and the work completed in 1848. The tomb was left in its original condition, but covered by a Gothic chapel of stone, with arches of open tracery filled in with iron bars. This chapel is eight feet nine inches long, three feet eight inches wide, internal measurement, and nine feet three inches high to the ridge of the stone roof.

A very beautiful memorial window to Bishop Ken was placed in a chapel on the south side of the chancel. It is in three compartments. In the centre is a figure of our Lord as the Good Shepherd, bearing, as in the simple sculptures of the Catacombs, a lamb upon His shoulders. On one side is the charge to Peter, "Lovest thou Me? Feed My lambs;" on the other a group of angels. Below our Saviour is a kneeling figure of Bishop Ken, with a book on the desk before him, and his mitre and staff at his side, with the text—"The Lord will be a comfort for the oppressed,

even a refuge in due time of trouble ; for Thou, Lord, hast never failed them that seek Thee." (Ps. ix. 9, 10.)

On one side is "The Feast," in allusion to the Bishop's weekly dinner to the poor, with the text, "They cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just." (St. Luke xiv. 14.) On the other side is our Lord at the Pool of Bethesda, with the inscription, "O ye fountains, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and exalt Him above all for ever." At the base are Ken's seal, the "Anchor and Christ," the arms of his family and Diocese, and in a single line, the width of the window, the legend,

Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, dyed A. D. 1711.

A brass plate below bears the following inscription :

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.  
THOMAS KEN,  
BORN AT LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD, IN THE COUNTY  
OF HERTFORD,  
1637 ;  
CONSECRATED BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESE  
1684 ;  
IMPRISONED BY ONE KING  
1688 ;  
AND DEPRIVED BY ANOTHER  
1689 ;  
SUFFERING IN BOTH CASES FOR THE TESTIMONY  
OF A GOOD CONSCIENCE,  
DIED AT LONGLEAT, UNDER THE ROOF OF HIS FRIEND  
THOMAS, VISCOUNT WEYMOUTH,  
MARCH 19TH. 1710-11.  
AND BY HIS OWN DESIRE WAS BURIED IN THE  
ADJOINING CHURCH YARD.  
MANY REVERING HIS MEMORY HAVE JOINED  
TO PROTECT FROM INJURY THE GRAVE OF THIS  
HOLY CONFESSOR, AND TO RESTORE  
THIS CHANCEL  
TO THE GLORY OF ALMIGHTY GOD.  
WITH LIKE REVERENCE THIS MEMORIAL WINDOW  
HAS BEEN SET UP BY  
HARRIET, MARCHIONESS OF BATH,  
MDCCCXLVIII.

The floor of the chancel to the steps is laid with encaustic tiles, the chief of which bears the initials T. K., and the pastoral staff. Others are placed around, marked W and B, with coronets, the letters standing for Weymouth and Bath, the latter the title of the present owner of Longleat.

A record of this description forms a pleasant close to our task. It shows the good Bishop freshly remembered at the scene of his labors, honored where perhaps honors mean most, in his own home.

These beautiful memorials rise over what are now at the best but a few bones and a little dust. Time has been almost as swift a solvent to the Bishop's mental as to his mortal remains. Those noble sermons, those volumes of elaborated verse, rest in the dust of great libraries. Naught is left to most of us but the three hymns written for schoolboys, and perhaps one of the Bishop's most rapidly achieved labors. But as the last state of that grave is better than the first, so also seems to us the fame of its tenant. It is brought within the Church, and is ever glorious there, like the good Bishop's effigy in the memorial window, when the morning sun streaming in

many-hued radiance seems as it were daily to repeat his familiar counsel—

Awake, my soul, and with the sun  
Thy daily course of duty run.

Of the three hymns, that for the evening is the favorite. This is perhaps due to its more frequent use and to the associations connected with it. The day usually declines before the close of our afternoon services. The twilight lends its accompaniment to the organ, and the words most happily harmonize with the quieting influences of the hour and scene.

It has its associations of a still deeper tenderness. We recall the Church at eventide when minister and people have entered together, when the congregation numbers one who sees not, hears not, moves not, and yet, by simple presence, exercises more potent spell than the best brain living and moving in the company. On that evening, which for the dead has no morning in this world, on that evening when, to the mourner, his sun seems about to sink into the grave and know no morrow, Bishop Ken's strains sometimes follow the inspired sublimities of St. Paul. Who that has heard them then can ever coldly hear them afterwards?

Our task has been to show that the pure life of the author of these poems rose to a level with his works. We dismiss the bright exemplar we have so long had before our eyes, the exemplar of whom we have, we trust, given some glimpse to our readers, by applying, we hope in no irreverent mood, to his career his own reverent words—

Teach me to live that I may dread  
The grave as little as my bed ;  
Teach me to die that so I may  
Triumphing rise at the last day.

THE END.



## NOTE.

BISHOP KEN'S Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns first appeared in the seventh edition (1700) of the "Manual." They were re-published, five years later, in a garbled and altered version, in the second edition of a work entitled "A Conference between the Soul and Body concerning the Present and Future State." This led the publisher of the "Manual," in his next edition, to prefix the following "Advertisement" to the hymns :

"Whereas at the end of a book lately publish'd, called a Conference between the Soul and Body, there are some Hymns said to be writ by Bishop Ken, who absolutely disowns them, as being very false and incorrect; but the genuine ones are to be had only of Charles Brome, Bookseller, whose just property the original copy is."

As this announcement, repeated in the edition of 1712, seems authoritative, we have adopted the version which accompanies it, as re-printed by Mr. Round, in our text.

The appendix to the "Life of Ken by a Layman" gives another copy of Bishop Ken's Hymns, "word for word as he penned them," which varies materially from the other version, presenting many beauties as well as irregularities peculiar to itself.

## The Life of George Herbert.

BY GEORGE L. DUYCKINCK.

New York, 1858: pp. 197

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WE have too long neglected to do our share in bringing this delightful little book to the notice of the lovers of holy George Herbert, among whom we may safely reckon a large number of the readers of the "Atlantic." It is based on the life by Izaak Walton, but contains much new matter, either out of Walton's reach or beyond the range of his sympathy.

Notices are given of Nicholas Ferrar and other friends of Herbert. There is a very agreeable sketch of Bemerton and its neighborhood, as it now is, and the neat illustrations are of the kind that really illustrate. The Brothers Duyckinck are well known for their unpretentious and valuable labors in the cause of good letters and American literary history, and this is precisely such a book as we should expect from the taste, scholarship, and purity of mind which distinguish both of them. It is much the best account of Herbert with which we are acquainted.—*Atlantic Monthly*.







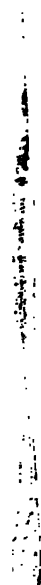




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